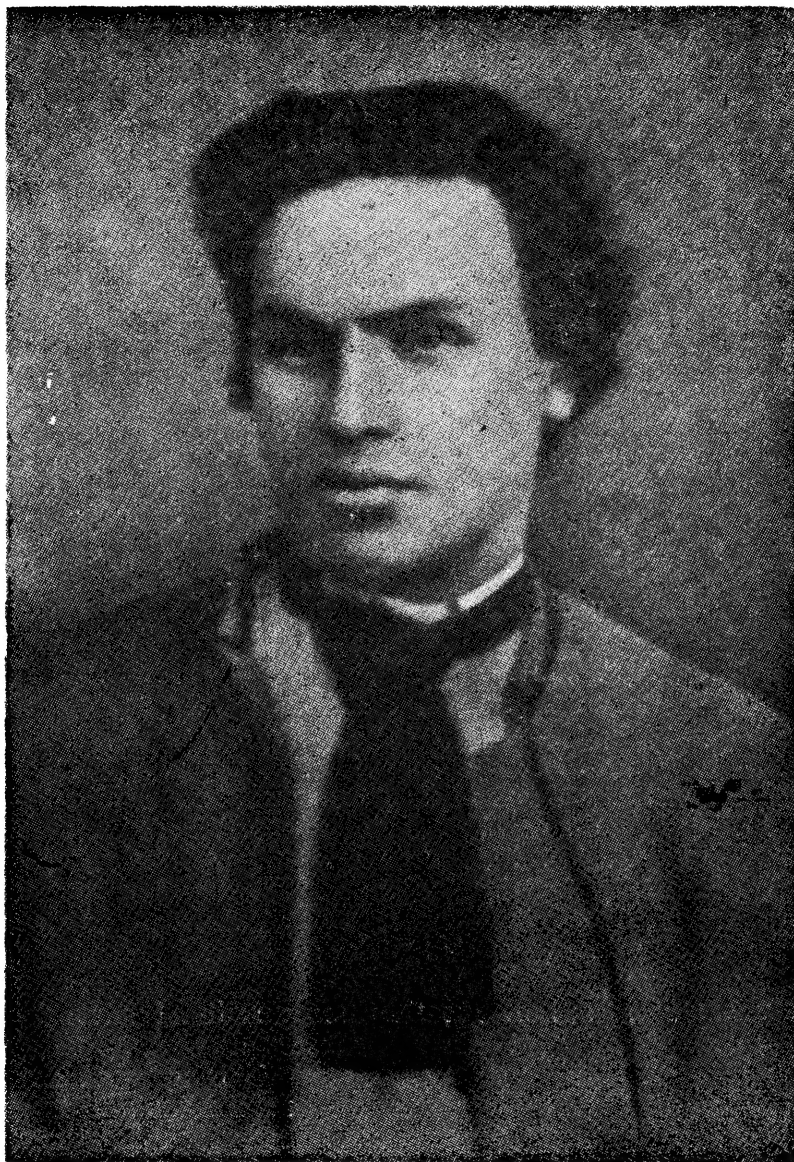


ДАКУМЕНТЫ БЕЛАРУСКАЕ ГІСТОРЫІ
DOCUMENTS OF BYELORUSSIAN HISTORY



**Кастусь Каліноўскі (2. II. 1838 — 22. III. 1864),
выдавец „Мужыцкае Праўды” й кіраўнік паўстання 1863 году.**

**Kastus Kalinowski (2 February 1838 — 22 March 1864)
Publisher of “Peasants’ Truth” and the leader of the 1863 Uprising**

БЕЛАРУСКИ ІНСТЫТУТ НАВУКІ І МАСТАЦТВА
BYELORUSSIAN INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

ПАЎСТАЊНЕ НА БЕЛАРУСІ 1863 ГОДУ:

„Мужыцкая Праўда” й лісты
„з-пад шыбеніцы”

Тэксты й камэнтары

Я. Запруднік і Т. Э. Бэрд

THE 1863 UPRISING IN BYELORUSSIA:

“Peasants’ Truth” and “Letters
from beneath the Gallows”

Texts and commentaries

by

Jan Zaprudnik and Thomas E. Bird

The Krečeuŭski Foundation, Inc.
New York
1980

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Bo ja tabie z pad szybienicy kažu,
Narodzie, szto tahdy tolka zażywiesz
szczęśliwo, kali nad taboju Maskala użo
nie budzie.

Kastuś Kalinouski

For I say to you from beneath the
gallows, my People, that only then will
you live happily, when no Muscovite
remains over you.

Kastuś Kalinouski

„Калиновский написал совсем немного. Но сама его героическая жизнь бросила негаснущий отсвет на всю белорусскую литературу, отсвет, который мы отчетливо видим в творчестве Янки Купалы, Якуба Коласа, Тётки...”.

А. Овчаренко, История художественного самосознания народа, „Вопросы литературы”, Москва, 1979, № 3, стр. 63.

„Kalinouski wrote an insignificant amount. However, his heroic life itself cast an unfading radiance over all of Byelorussian literature, a radiance which is seen distinctly in the literary writings of Janka Kupala, Jakub Kolas, Ciotka...”

A. Ovcharenko, “A History of the Artistic Self-Consciousness of a People,” *Voprosy literatury*, Moscow, 1979, No. 3, p. 63.

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N 1.

MUZYCKAJA PRAUDA.

Dzieciuki!

Minulo uze toje, kali zdawalo sia usim, szto muzyckaja ruka zdasce tolko da sachi. — ciepier nastau taki czas szto my sami mozem pisaci, i to pisaci takuju praudu sprawiedliwu jak Boh na niebi. O, zahremic nasza prauda i jak malanka pierelocić pa swieci! Niechaj paznajuć szto my mozem nie tolko karmić swaim chlebom no jeszcze i uczyć rwajej muzyckoj praudy.

Pytali i pytajuć usie, szto czuwaci na swieci, chto nam biedym muzykam dać wolność? No praudu skazauszy malo chto chce skazaci tak jak sumlenie kaze — pa sprawiedliwości. My muzyki, braty waszyje, my wam budziem hawaryć celuju praudu, tolko słuchajcie nas!

Maskali, czynouniki i mnoho panou, buduć pie repyniać pismo nasze da was; no najduć sia ludzie i z muzykou rozumniejszije i z pańskaho rodu i z miasteczkowych szto choczuc waszej swabody, waszaho szezascia. — jony to wam sami heto pismo dawaci buduć, kab wy zuali chto wasz pryjacieli, a chto wasz woroch.

Szeć let uze minulo jak paczali hawaryć a swabodzie muzyckoj. Hawaryli, talkawali i pisali mnoho, a niczoho nie zrabili. A hety manifest szto Car z Senatam i z panami dla nas napisau, to taki duray, szto czort wiedaje da czego jon padobny, — nijakoj u niom niema praudy, niema z jeho dla nas nijakoj karyści. Parabili Kancelaryi, zrabili sud, jakby heto nie usio rouno brać u sraku czy z sudom, czy bez suda. Parabili Pisarou, Pasredni-

„Мужыцкая Праўда” № 1, 1862 году.

“Peasants' Truth” № 1, 1862.

INTRODUCTION

Kastuś Kalinoŭski (1838-1864) has exerted a powerful influence on Byelorussian nationalism in the twentieth century. He has been claimed by both the *niezaležniki* ("independents") and the Soviets as a progenitor of a free Byelorussia.

In the Byelorussian SSR the heroism and tragedy of Kalinoŭski (hanged by the tsarist authorities in Vilna on March 22, 1864) have been extolled in poems, plays, novels, films, and paintings, but accompanied by a paradox: until this day, Kalinoŭski's literary heritage—in journalism and poetry—is inaccessible in its entirety. Kalinoŭski is excerpted and interpreted for the Soviet readership, but not allowed to appear in his own language.

Between July 1862 and June 1863, Kalinoŭski clandestinely published seven issues of the newspaper, *Mužyckaja Praŭda* — **Peasants' Truth**. The aim of the publication, addressed mainly to the bulk of the Byelorussian people, the peasantry, was to arouse them against the tsarist regime in an armed uprising for social justice and national freedom. Prepared and fought in coordination with the Polish and Lithuanian peoples, the 1863-1864 Uprising required as many Russian troops to suppress it as did Napoleon's invasion of Russia.

The seven issues of **Peasants' Truth** (two pages to an issue) are a major source for the study of Kalinoŭski's personality, his views and ideas, as well as of the uprising itself. The newspaper, the first published in modern Byelorussian, is also an important source for the history of the Byelorussian language and literature. According to Professor Aleh Łojka of the Byelorussian State University, "K. Kalinoŭski's journalism is a contribution to the treasure of national culture, to the development of the new Byelorussian literature, the formation of its progressive ideas, and the enrichment of its genre and style." (A. A. Łojka, *Historyja biełaruskaj litaratury. Dakastryčnicki peryjad*. Part I, Minsk, 1977, pp. 173-174)

K. Kalinoŭski is not considered by some to be the sole author of everything written in **Peasants' Truth**, but he is generally held to be its editor and principal contributor. Each issue of the newspaper comprised one article and was signed by "Jaśko (i. e., Jack), yeoman from near Vilna," which was Kalinoŭski's pseudonym.

There is uncertainty about the place of publication. Among

the cities where some of the issues are thought to have been printed are Biełastok, Grodno, Vilna, and Minsk. The newspaper was disseminated throughout Byelorussia as well as in Lithuania and Latvia.

In spite of the fact that Kastuś Kalinoŭski has been embraced by Soviet scholarship and fiction, the full texts of his **Peasants' Truth** are very difficult to obtain in Soviet Byelorussia.

The one and only time when the full texts of **Peasants' Truth** were published in Soviet Byelorussia was in 1928 when S. Agurski's **Ocherki po istorii revolutsionnogo dvizheniya v Belorusii, 1863-1917** appeared in Minsk. Separate issues of the newspaper also appeared during the liberal 1920's in various Soviet Byelorussian periodicals. In 1963, on the occasion of the centennial of the 1863 Uprising, the texts of **Peasants' Truth** were published in Russian translation in two documentary volumes brought out jointly by the Academies of Sciences of the USSR, Poland, Lithuanian SSR and the Byelorussian SSR: **Revolutsionnyi podiom v Litve i Belorussii v 1861-1862 gg.** (Moscow, "Nauka" Publishers, 1964, pp. 124-133, **Peasants' Truth** Nos. 1-6) and **Vosstaniye v Litve i Belorussii 1863-1864 gg.** (Moscow, "Nauka" Publishers, 1964, pp. 124-133, **Peasants' Truth** Nos. 1-6) and seven issues of the newspaper in the original language appeared in the Polish Academy's documentary volume, **Prasa tajna z lat 1863-1864**. Part I (Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków), pp. 318-329.

Our texts have been taken in the main from Agurski's book. Where Agurski differed from the available photocopies of some of the newspapers, we have followed the photocopies. Paragraphing and punctuation have followed Agurski when they did not contradict the photostats. Textological details are explained in the Byelorussian introduction.

Excerpts from **Peasants' Truth** are often produced in various Soviet Byelorussian writings and textbooks but in most instances they are torn out of context with their meaning twisted by biased interpretations. Certain passages, however, are never quoted, including the following statement in **Peasants' Truth** #4: "In our country, Fellows, they teach you in the schools only to read the Muscovite language for the purpose of turning you completely into Muscovites."

The poignancy of these words is made obvious in Soviet Byelorussia today by the fact that Byelorussian, under the guise of the official policy of bilingualism, has been replaced by Russian, either entirely or in part, in such crucial areas of national life as higher education, mass media, film industry, governmental offices, publishing, etc.

Another reason that the Soviet censorship bars access to Kalinoŭski's newspaper is its publisher's numerous references to

God, while Soviet historians consistently try to portray Kastuś Kalinoŭski as an atheist.

What is even more important is that the full texts of **Peasants' Truth** make clear the anti-Russian character of the 1863 Uprising in Byelorussia, as was equally the case in Poland and Lithuania. In the seven issues of **Peasants' Truth** the word "Muscovite," both as noun and adjective, is used 48 times. While Soviet authors allege that the term signified mainly "tsarist soldier(s)" or "tsarist official(s)," an examination of the context in which the term is used in the newspaper shows that 39 times out of 48 it means "Russian."

Equally telling are two of the three of Kalinoŭski's letters "from beneath the gallows" written by him in prison shortly before his execution (he was arrested on January 28, 1864, and executed on March 22 of that year). In one of the letters, considered to be Kalinoŭski's political will, the leader of the Uprising reminded his people: "for I say to you from beneath the gallows that only then will you live happily, when no Muscovite remains over you."

The three "Letters from beneath the gallows" are reproduced here from Agaton Giller's **Historia Powstania Narodu Polskiego w 1861-1864 r.**, v. I, second edition, Paris, 1867, pp. 327-335. The longest of the three, chronologically probably the first, has been virtually unknown until now (Adam Stankiewicz made a brief reference to it in his book in 1933; (see Bibliography). The editors wish to express their gratitude to Rev. Alexander Nadson, Director of the F. Skaryna Byelorussian Library in London, England, for his generously having made the texts of these letters available to us. This is the only time, except for Giller's publication in 1867, that these three letters have been published in their entirety.

In order to dilute the essentially anti-Russian character of the 1863 Uprising in Byelorussia, Soviet authors depict Kalinoŭski as a disciple of Chernyshevsky, Dobrolyubov, and other Russian **narodniks**—for which there is no corroboration either in **Peasants' Truth** or any other documentary sources directly attributable to the leader of the Uprising.

The publication of the full texts of Kalinoŭski's **Peasants' Truth** and of his three letters written while in captivity — "from beneath the gallows" — in their entirety and for the first time a parallel English translation will enable Western scholars and general readers interested in the past of Eastern Europe to acquaint themselves more thoroughly with one of the most crucial events in the history of modern Byelorussia, the 1863 Uprising, and with its dynamic and youthful leader.

T.E.B.
J.Z.



Кастусь Каліноўскі

(Фатаграфія з архіву Музею Польскага Войска ў Варшаве)

Kastus Kalinowski

(Photo from the Archives of the Museum of the Polish Army in Warsaw)

“МУЖЫЦКАЯ ПРАЎДА” — НАБАТ ПАЎСТАНЬНЯ 1863 ГОДУ

Янка Запруднік

У нас, Дзяцюкі, адно учаць у школах, каб ты
знаў чытаці па маскоўску, а то для того,
каб цебе заўсім перэрабілі на маскаля.

„Мужыцкая Праўда” № 4

„Цудоўны дакумэнт гэраічнай эпохі”

Сем нумароў нелегальнае беларускае газэты „Мужыцкая Праўда” становяць ці не найгалаўнейшую крыніцу для вывучэньня паўстаньня 1863 году на Беларусі й сьветагляду ягоных кіраўнікоў. Дасьледніцкая літаратура пра „Мужыцкую Праўду” даволі багатая.¹ Не зважаючы на гэта, аднак, доступ да самых тэкстаў газэты вельмі ўскладнены, а ў савецкіх падкантрольных умовах для шмат каго проста немагчымы. Тым ня менш, савецкія аўтары аднадушна заяўляюць пра важнасьць газэты — для вывучэньня характару паўстаньня, станаўленьня беларускае журналістыкі, літаратурнае мовы, і г. д.

Гэтак, паводля Івана Лушчыцкага, на аўтарытэт якога часта спасылаюцца іншыя дасьледнікі, „Мужыцкая Праўда” адыграла вялікую ролю ў справе падрыхтоўкі паўстаньня 1863 году. Яна ўпяршыню на беларускай мове несла рэвалюцыйна-дэмакратычныя ідэі ў асяродзьдзе сялянства, выходзіла яго ў духу нянавісьці да прыгоньніцтва і самаўладзтва, заклікала на барацьбу зь імі”.²

А. Ф. Сьмірноў, аўтар вялікага ліку працаў пра паўстаньне 1863 году й пра Кастуса Каліноўскага, заве „Мужыцкую Праўду” „першым зваротам з вольным і праўдзівым словам да селяніна-беларуса ў ягонай роднай мове”.³

Генадзь Кісялёў, плённы дасьледнік гісторыі Беларусі XIX ст., схарактарызаваў „Мужыцкую Праўду” як „вольнае беларускае слова”, а Кастуса Каліноўскага — як „вялікага знаўцу народных гаворак, які тонка адчуваў слова, унёс буйны ўклад у справу стварэньня беларускай літаратурнай мовы”. „Мужыцкая Праўда”, — кажа Г. Кісялёў, — ня толькі палітычны дакумэнт, але й літаратурны твор”.⁴

Фёдар Янкоўскі, аўтар „Гістарычнае граматыкі беларус-

кае мовы”, ацэньваючы „Мужыцкую Праўду” з гледзішча ейнага культурнага значэння, залічае газэту да „найбольш прыкметных літаратурных з’яваў XIX ст.”⁵

А Міхаіл Цікоцкі ў сваёй манаграфіі, быццам падагульняе ўсіх іншых, кажучы пра газэту: „Мужыцкая Праўда”, якую ён (Каліноўскі — Я. З.) пісаў, рэдагаваў і распаўсюджваў, — цудоўны дакумэнт гэраічнай эпохі 60-х гадоў на Беларусі”.⁶

Калі ў дасьледніцкіх працах пра „Мужыцкую Праўду” часта пішацца з агаворкамі — „Каліноўскі не разумеў сацыяльнае сутнасьці ўлады, ідэалізаваў мінуўшчыну” й г. д. — дык у папулярнай літаратуры, улучаючы сюды й школьныя падручнікі, Кастусь Каліноўскі й ягоная „Мужыцкая Праўда” беззасьцярожна ўсхваляюцца, як прыкладам у падручніку для сярэдніх школаў „Беларуская літаратура”:

Добрае веданьне жывой мовы, традыцыйных форм народных гутарак, уменьне карыстацца сакавітым народным гумарам, часам грубаватым, але трапным і дакладным, спалучэньне тонкага лірызму са зьдэлівай сатырай — усё гэта дазволіла К. Каліноўскаму весьці на старонках газэты простую, сардэчную размову зь сялянамі, умела будзіць і весьці іх думку, апэрыраваць даступнымі ім паняццямі, прыводзіць зразумелыя яскравыя паралелі.

Газэта „Мужыцкая Праўда” вызначалася сваёй мэтанакіраванасьцю, глыбінёй пастаноўкі і вырашэньня пытаньня, вострым палітычным запалам, заклікамі да барацьбы з прыгнатыльнасьцю. Яна была першым узорам беларускай публіцыстыкі.⁷

У ўмовах партыйнага таталітарнага „ўзгадоўваньня масаў” вытварыўся парадаксальны стан: савецкай уладзе даводзіцца хаваць ад народу тое, што яна хваліць — „цудоўны дакумэнт гэраічнай эпохі 60-х гадоў”, „Мужыцкую Праўду”, — каб ад поўнага тэксту газэты не разьвеелася хвальшывая інтэрпрэтацыя эпохі, якую яна адлюстроўвае. Не выпадкова пра „Мужыцкую Праўду” ў савецкай гістарыяграфіі сьпісана паперы ў сто разоў больш, як самых тэкстаў газэты.

Дзе тэксты „Мужыцкае Праўды”?

Тэксты ўсіх сямёх нумароў — лацінкаю, гэтак як у арыгінале — былі апублікаваныя ўпрышыню ў кнізе С. Агурскага „Очерки по истории революционного движения в Белоруссии, 1863-1917”, выдадзенай у Менску Белдзяржвыдавецтвам у 1928 годзе (бб. 211-219). Агурскі-ж дастаў іх зь Інбелкульту, як сам пра гэта піша: „Мужыцкая Праўда” з № 1 па 7 дадзеная нам Інбелкультам, для якога гэты тэкст

быў зьняты з арыгіналу жандарскіх справаў т. І. Віткоўскім” (б. 211).

Заслугу С. Агурскага ў выданьні тэкстаў „Мужыцкае Праўды” адзначыў А. Ф. Сьмірноў у сваім артыкуле пра газэту ў зб. „Восстание 1863 года и русско-польские революционные связи 60-ых годов” (выд. АН СССР, Масква, 1960, бб. 11-12): „Заслуга аўтарава значная, бо экзэмпляры „Мужыцкае Праўды” даўно сталіся бібліяграфічнай рэдкасьцяй і раськіданыя па розных архівах і фондах. Нат найбольш поўная калекцыя, што знаходзіцца ў справах III аддзелу, ня мае сёмага нумару — ЦКІМ, ф. 109, I экзп., 1862 г., д. 230, ч. 143, лл. 13, 86, 93 и др.”.

Да Агурскага тры нумары газэты — 3-і, 5-ы й 7-ы — апублікаваў Ал. Шлюбскі ў першым нумары часопісу „Польшча” за 1926 год (бб. 160-166). Шлюбскі не карыстаўся, аднак, арыгіналамі: ён перадрукаваў нумары 3-і й 7-ы з ковенскага часопісу „Karo Archyvas, redagavo majoras V. Steponaitis. I. Kaunas, Vyriausiojo štabo karo mokslo skyriaus leidinys. MCMXXV”, а нумар 5-ы — з газэты „Савецкая Беларусь” (№ 192 за 1923 г.).

Расейскія пераклады „Мужыцкае Праўды” — з зазначэньнем, што арыгіналы знаходзяцца ў кнізе Агурскага (гл. вышэй) — былі апублікаваныя ў зборніках дакумэнтаў, што былі выдадзеныя ў Маскве (выд. „Навука”) у 1964 і 1965 гадох: „Революционный подъем в Литве и Белоруссии в 1861-1862 гг.” (бб. 124-133 — „Мужичья Правда” №№ 1-6) і „Восстание в Литве и Белоруссии 1863-1864 гг.” (бб. 25-26 — „Мужичья Правда” № 7).

У 1966 годзе ў Польшчы тэксты ўсіх сямёх нумароў „Мужыцкае Праўды” былі апублікаваныя ў арыгінале ў зборніку дакумэнтаў польскае Акадэміі навукаў „Prasa tajna z lat 1861-1864”. Cześć I. Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków (str. 318-329).

Фатастаты першых старонак некаторых нумароў газэты (друкавалася яна пераважна на двух баках аднаго ліста; фармат быў розны — у цэнтymэтрах: 12,5 x 23, 25 x 23, 21 x 23) можна знайсці ў працах паасобных дасьледнікаў. Гэтак, прыкладам, фатастат першае старонкі першага нумару пададзены ў вышэй згаданым зборніку польскае Акадэміі навукаў „Праса тайна” (б. 319), а таксама ў маскоўскім зборніку 1964 году „Революционный подъем в Литве и Белоруссии в 1861-1862 гг.” (б. 125). Фатастат першае старонкі 3-га нумару падаў у манаграфіі І. Лушчыцкі — „Нарысы па гісторыі грамадска-палітычнай і філасофскай думкі ў Беларусі ў другой палавіне XIX веку” (выд. БДУ, Мінск, 1958, б. 135). Фатастаты 1-га й 5-га нумароў (5-ы нумар увесь зьмешчаны на адным боку ліста) пададзеныя ў згаданым вышэй артыкуле А. Ф. Сьмірнова „Мужичья Правда” ў зб. „Восста-

ние 1863 г. и русско-польские революционные связи 60-х годов” (Масква, 1960, бб. 27 і 29).

У 1971 годзе была зробленая спроба ў Менску апублікаваць максымум тэкстаў „Мужыцкае Праўды” ў хрэстаматыі „Беларуская літаратура XIX стагодзьдзя”.⁸ Складальнікі хрэстаматыі змушаныя былі, аднак, пайсьці на кампраміс з цензурнымі вымогамі. Апублікаваныя імі тэксты прэсяца ад шматкроп’я. Дзе студэнты маглі-б знайсьці поўныя тэксты газэты, складальнікі не казалі, не датрымаўшы свайго-ж абяцання на пачатку кнігі (б. 4), што ў камэнтарох да яе „адзначаюцца першакрыніцы”. Прамоўчаная кніга Агурскага, як крыніца тэкстаў „Мужыцкае Праўды”, і ў Беларускай Савецкай Энцыклапедыі. Даведка ў БелСЭ пра „Мужыцкую Праўду” (т. 7, б. 302) адсылае чытача на поўныя тэксты газэты да найменш даступнага на Беларусі польскага зборніка „Праса тайна” (гл. вышэй). Маўчыць БелСЭ і пра тры нумары „Мужыцкае Праўды”, апублікаваныя Шлюбскім у часопісе „Полымя”; маўчыць таксама пра расейскія пераклады газэты ў маскоўскіх зборніках 1964 і 1965 гадоў „Рэволюцыйный подъем” і „Восстание в Литве и Белоруссии” (гл. вышэй).

Савецкія дасьледнікі, калі цытуюць „Мужыцкую Праўду”, дык робяць гэта пераважна без спасылак на друкаваную крыніцу, а падаюць толькі ў дужках нумар газэты. Некаторыя-ж зь іх, як прыкладам Іван Лушчыцкі ў згадванай ягонай манаграфіі „Нарысы па гісторыі грамадска-палітычнай і філасофскай думкі ў Беларусі”, цытуючы „Мужыцкую Праўду”, спасылаюцца на архівы Масквы, Ленінграду, Вільні (але ня Менску).

Хоць патрэба апублікаваныя поўных тэкстаў гэткага ключавога гістарычнага дакумэнту як „Мужыцкая Праўда” відавочная, у савецкіх афіцыйных выданьнях вельмі рэдка пра гэта гаворыцца. На тым большую ўвагу заслужоўвае голас пяцёх студэнтаў Беларускага Дзяржаўнага Ўнівэрсытэту ў газ. „Літаратура і Мастацтва” з 25. IX. 1964 г.:

У апошнія гады, пасля XX і XXII зьездаў партыі, карэнным чынам перагледжана гісторыя беларускай літаратуры. Але, нажалі, мы і цяпер ня маем выданьняў шмат якіх твораў нашай літаратурнай спадчыны. Пры вывучэньні публіцыстыкі Каліноўскага даводзіцца гартаць старыя кнігі, каб знайсьці тэксты яго „Мужыцкай Праўды”...

Дваццаць чацьвертага верасьня 1976 году, на 12-й ўгодкі заявы пяцёх студэнтаў БДУ, газэта „Літаратура і Мастацтва”, пад заг. „Надзённыя пытаньні”, паведаміла пра першае паседжаньне новастворанае „гісторыка-мэмарыяльнае камісіі” Саюзу пісьменьнікаў БССР. На паседжаньні тым „члены камісіі выказалі думку, што больш увагі неабходна

ўдзяліць выданьню спадчыны рэвалюцыйных дэмакратаў К. Каліноўскага, А. Гурыновіча, К. Каганца...”

Аднак, да канца 1979 году ніякага знаку прагрэсу ў справе выданьня спадчыны „рэвалюцыйнага дэмакрата” Каліноўскага ня было. Застаецца тымчасам толькі самое ўсьведамленьне патрэбы. Пра Каліноўскага ізноў згадаў, як пра аднаго з „пляяды літаратараў”, Генадзь Кісялёў у мажымэнтальным зборніку гісторыка-літаратурных матар’ялаў XIX ст. „Пачынальнікі” (Мінск, выд. „Навука і тэхніка”, 1977 г., б. 3). Але нічога ў „Пачынальніках” з Каліноўскага няма, хоць мелася быць. Бо ў вялікім разьдзеле кнігі (бб. 489-522), пад заг. „Бібліяграфія дакумэнтальных публікацый (1923-1976 гг.)”, на ўступе да разьдзелу, сказана: „У бібліяграфію не ўвайшлі публікацыі пра К. Каліноўскага, таму што дзейнасьць яго далёка выходзіць за рамкі літаратуры. **Выключэньне зроблена толькі для звязаных з Каліноўскім твораў беларускае літаратуры („Мужыцкая праўда”)**” (падчыркнана намі — Я. З.).

Намер Кісялёва зьмясьціць у зборніку тэксты газэты цензура перакрываваўла. „Выключэньне” для „Мужыцкае Праўды” засталася толькі ў бібліяграфіі. У тэкст зборніка гэтыя „творы беларускае літаратуры” не ўвайшлі. На б. 491-й згадваецца адно, што сем нумароў „Мужыцкае Праўды” зьмешчаныя ў кнізе: „С. Агурскі. Очерки по истории революционного движения в Белоруссии (1863-1917). Мінск, 1928, с. 211-219”.

Варыянты тэкстаў і мовы газэты

Тэксты й мова „Мужыцкае Праўды” дайшлі да нас у розных варыянтах. Варыянты гэтыя йдуць ад таго перш-наперш, што „асобныя нумары перадрукоўваліся паўторна” ды „мелі некаторыя адрозьненні”,⁹ а таксама, і, бадай, у большай меры — ад таго, што перапішчыкі й друкары рабілі памылкі. Непасьлядоўнасьць у мове была і ў выдаўцоў газэты. Усе галоўныя тэкстуальныя разыходжаньні ў нас адзначаныя адпаведнымі зноскамі. Апублікаваныя ніжэй тэксты ў васноўным узятых з кнігі Агурскага. Пры супаставе тэкстаў Агурскага з наяўнымі фатастатамі, калі выяўлялася розніца, мы трымаліся фатастату, як дакумэнту больш аўтэнтычнага. Абзацы й пунктуацыя захаваныя паводля Агурскага, калі не разыходзіцца з фатастатам.

Паміж тэкстамі Агурскага й зб. „Праса тайна” вельмі шмат моўных разьбежнасьцяў, зашмат, каб кожную адзначаць зноскаю. Затым, аднак, што „Мужыцкая Праўда” важная й для вывучэньня мовы, мы падаём ніжэй, дзеля параўнаньня, варыянты некаторых словаў у Агурскага й „Прасе тайнай”.

Агрукі

„Праса тайна”

tolki	dabici sie	tolko	dabici sia
piśmo	życio	pismo	życie
panskaho	jeść	pańskaho	je
książki	swaho	księżki	swojeho
niczoho	czalawiek	niczeho	czelowiek
pańszczyznu	naszej	panszczyznu	naszaj
samoho	niebiesnoje	samaho	niebieskoje
sudziecież	chacieu	sudziecież	chocieu
wolnaść	swieta	wolność	swiata
abjawlali	podusznie	abjawlali	poduszne
swiecie	pasiařednika	swieci	posierednika
niewolu	niebuło	niawolu	niebyło
heta	niekruty	heto	nekruty

У трох нумарох „Мужыцкае Праўды”, апублікаваных Шлюбскім у „Полымі”, ёсць падобныя разьбежнасьці, а ёсць і проста бяссэнсыца (Шлюбскі перадрукоўваў не з арыгіналаў і не лацінкаю, а кірыліцай — што магло яшчэ пабольшыць лік памылак). Шлюбскі, ня могучы расшыфраваць некаторых словаў, пакідаў іх у лацінічным напісанні: “czcien” (у арыгінале — “chacieu”), “nadurad” (у арыгінале — “nam rad” “ramoju rukoju” (у арыгінале — “rounaju rukoju”), „окураці” (у арыгінале — “aszukaci”) і да г. п.

Месца выданьня „Мужыцкае Праўды”

Месца выданьня „Мужыцкае Праўды”, газэты падпольнае, не ўстаноўленае. У зборніку „Праса тайна” кажацца: „Друкавалі яе праўдападобна ў розных месцах, пераважна ў Беластоку, Горадне й Вільні” (б. 318).

У зб. „Револуцыйны пад’ём у Літве і Беларусі” (Масква, 1964) проста кажацца, што газэта выходзіла ў Горадзенскай губэрні (б. 133).

Пашыралася-ж „Мужыцкая Праўда” па цэлай Беларусі, а таксама ў Ліцьве й Лацьвіі.

Аўтарства „Мужыцкае Праўды”

У публіцыстычнай і мастацкай літаратуры ды некаторых дасьледніцкіх працах Кастусь Каліноўскі падаецца як аўтар „Мужыцкае Праўды” — „якую ён пісаў, рэдагаваў і распаўсюджваў”.¹⁰ А. Ф. Сьмірноў, артыкулы якога прысьвечаны вылучна „Мужыцкай Праўдзе” і на якога найчасцей спасылаюцца іншыя аўтары, кажа: „беспасярэдніх паказаньняў самога Каліноўскага пра пісаньне ці выданьне ім „Мужыц-

кае Праўды’ мы ня маем”.¹¹ Тым ня менш, разглядаючы сьветчаньне Ўрублеўскага, найбліжэйшага паплечніка Каліноўскага, пра тое, што „выданьне „Мужыцкае Праўды’ ня было справай аднаго чалавека”, Сьмірноў адзначае ўсё-ж, што „найгалаўнейшую ролю граў К. Каліноўскі”, што ён „быў рэдактарам органу групы — „Мужыцкая Праўда’”.¹² Вось да якое высновы прыходзіць Сьмірноў у сваім аналізе праблемы аўтарства газэты:

Сьветчаньне Ражанскага поўнасьцяй супадае з паказаньнямі В. Урублеўскага й не пакідае сумлеваў, як у тым, што Каліноўскі быў рэдактарам „Мужыцкае Праўды”, гэтак і ў тым, што газэта — плод калектыўнае працы, выражэньне думак і паглядаў рэвалюцыйнае групы, што рыхтавала народ да паўстаньня. Яно цікавае яшчэ й тым, што паказвае неаднароднасьць складу групы горадзенскіх рэвалюцыянераў. У ёй мы знаходзім і прадстаўнікоў ніжэйшага духавенства, і ахвіцэраў, і інтэлігенцыю...

Падсумоўваючы, трэба сказаць, што „Мужыцкая Праўда” самым цясьнейшым парадак зьвязаная з імём Каліноўскага. Няма дадзеных, каб катэгарычна цвёрдзіць, што ён быў аўтарам кожнага радка ў кожным нумары. Больш правільнай будзе выснова, што шэраг нумароў быў напісаны Каліноўскім. а ў цэлым уся „Мужыцкая Праўда” выдавалася ім з дапамогай У. Урублеўскага й Ф. Ражанскага пад іхным супольным кантролем.¹³

У анатацыях да зб. „Праса тайна” кажацца: „У рэдагаваньні „Мужыцкае Праўды’ бралі ўдзел: Кастусь Каліноўскі, Валеры Ўрублеўскі, Фэлікс Ружанскі, Станіслаў Сонгін. Пэўдонам „Яська гаспадар спад Вільні”, якім падпісаны кожны нумар, трэба ўважаць за супольны для цэлае рэдакцыйнае калегіі”.¹⁴

Кастусь Каліноўскі й рэлігія

У Беларускай Савецкай Энцыкляпэдыі Кастуся Каліноўскага запісалі ў атэісты: „Як атэіст, — чытаем там, — Каліноўскі крытыкаваў догмат пра тое, што Бог стварыў людзей і даў ім аднолькавую душу. Мужыцкую праўду ён ставіў вышэй за Бога. Не малітвамі, ня верай у Бога, а шляхам рэвалюцыі заклікаў ён зьмяніць тагачасны сьвет”.¹⁵ Іван Лушчыцкі, які напісаў для БэлСЭ артыкул пра Каліноўскага, спасылаецца далей на вырваную з кантэксту й абрэзаную цытату з „Мужыцкае Праўды”.

Паколькі, аднак, адзін зь сямёх нумароў газэты, нумар шосты, увесь прысьвечаны абароне вуніацкае рэлігіі, а з кантэксту ўвесь нумар вырваць нельга, дык савецкія дасьлед-

нікі ставяць пад сумлеў якое-колечы дачыненне Каліноўскага да шостага нумару наагул. БелСЭ, артыкул для якое пра „Мужыцкую Праўду” напісаў Г. Кісялёў, цвёрдзіць: „Ад астатніх нумароў адрозніваецца шосты, які меў рэлігійную ахварбоўку; напісаны, відаць, тымі членамі групы К. Каліноўскага, што не да канца падзялялі яго рэвалюцыйна-дэмакратычныя погляды”.¹⁶ Пра абарону вуніцкае рэлігіі вядзецца, аднак, гутарка і ў іншых нумарох „Мужыцкае Праўды”: у 3-м, 5-м і 7-м. Прыпісванне аўтарства 6-га нумару камусьці іншаму сытуацыі аніяк не мяняе.

Для разумення становішча Каліноўскага і іншых рэвалюцыянераў 1863 году ў рэлігійным пытанні трэба ўзяць на ўвагу факты гістарычнае пары. У канцы XVIII ст. больш як 80% сельскага жыхарства Беларусі было вуніятамі.¹⁷ Афіцыйна Вуніцкая царква на Беларусі была скасаваная адно 24 гады перад паўстаннем 1863 году, прычым скасаванне гэнае суправаджалася гвалтамі над вернікамі і духавенствам. „Гістарычныя факты кажуць — мякка адзначае й А. Ф. Сьмірноў, — што скасаванне вуніі, праведзенае ў 1839 годзе, у шэрагу месцаў дзеля грубога адміністрацыйнага ўмешвання ўладаў у веравызнавальныя справы ўзбуджала незадавальненне”.¹⁸

Каліноўскі, як таленавіты рэвалюцыянер-арганізатар, ня мог ня ўлічаць рэлігійных настрояў сялянскіх масаў ды выкарыстоўваць гэтыя настроі для рэвалюцыйнай антымаскоўскай прапаганды. Да рэлігійных пачуццяў народу падыходзіў ён як да вельмі важнага фактару, які трэба было браць на ўвагу ў змаганні супраць царызму, падпарадкоўваючы яго вышэйшай стратэгічнай мэце — уздыму масавага народнага паўстання.

Рэлігійныя перакананні самога Каліноўскага, што падыходзіў з каталіцкае сям’і — важнае пытанне, але перакананні гэтыя не абавязкава раскрываюцца прапагандавымі артыкуламі-заклікамі „Мужыцкае Праўды”. На яе старонках пытанне рэлігіі трактавалася перш-наперш як пытанне рэвалюцыйнае тактыкі паўстання, а не асабістых перакананняў рэдактара ці рэдактароў газеты, вуніятамі якія ня былі. Улічваліся галоўна рэлігійныя перакананні і пачуцці тых, для каго газета пісалася — сялянаў. Каліноўскі быў ня рэлігійным прапаведнікам, а прапаведнікам народнае рэвалюцыі.

Значанне слова „маскаль” у „Мужыцкай Праўдзе”

У ўсіх сямёх нумарох „Мужыцкае Праўды” словы „маскаль”, „маскалі” (ды таксама словы „маскоўскі”, „маскоўская” і г. д.) ужытыя 48 разоў. У якім значанні?

Савецкія гісторыкі і пісьменьнікі, пішучы пра Кастуся

Каліноўскага і паўстанне 1863 году, тлумачаць гэтае пытанне на адзін лад:

Слова „маскаль” у Беларусі, а таксама ў Польшчы, Ліцьве й на Украіне ў XIX ст. мела тры значанні: 1. цар або прадстаўнік царскіх уладаў; 2. салдат; 3. расеец. Суадпаведныя значанні мела й вытворнае ад яго слова „маскоўскі”. У „Мужыцкай Праўдзе” гэтыя словы ўжываюцца ў пераважнай большыні выпадкаў у першым значанні.¹⁹

Дзеля належнага разумення гэтага ключавога тэрміну, не без карысці будзе глянуць, як-жа тлумачаць яго акадэмічныя слоўнікі расейскае мовы.

Тлумачальны слоўнік Даля:

Москаль, м. юж. москвич, русский; солдат, военнослужащий. От москаля, хоть полы отрежь, да уйди! Кто идет? Чорт! Ладно, абы не москаль. С москалем дружись, а камень за пазухой держи (а за кол держись). Мутит, как москаль на селе, т. е. солдат. Не за то быют москаля, что крадет, а чтобы концы хоронил. Знает москаль дорогу, а спрашивает!²⁰

Тлумачальны слоўнік Ушакова:

Москаль, я, м. (дореволюц. пренебр.). Шовинистическое прозвище, прилагавшееся жителями Украины и Белоруссии к русским, представителям Московского государства, а также к солдатам.²¹

Слоўнік сучаснае расейскае літаратурнае мовы:

Москаль, я, м. Устар., простореч. Шовинистическое прозвище русских и солдат в дореволюционной Украине, Белоруссии и в старой Польше. Если сами малороссы не совсем доверяют нам, так этому виной такие исторические обстоятельства, в которых участвовала административная часть русского общества, а уж никак не народ. Да это, впрочем, понимает масса людей в самой Малороссии: москалями зовут там солдат, так точно, как панами зовут помещиков. Доброл. Расск. из нар. русск. быта (реф.).²²

Цікава адзначыць тут, што ўсе тры слоўнікі на першым месцы падаюць не сацыяльны аспект азначэння, а нацыянальны: „маскаль — расеец”, а тады — „маскаль” — прадстаўнік улады, салдат. У „тлумачальнікаў”-жа „Мужыцкае Праўды” выходзіць наадварот. Іван Лушчыцкі, прыкладам, каб падтрымаць сваё „тлумачэнне” гэтага тэрміну, спасылалася²³ на выказванне Дабралюбава, якое падае й „Слоўнік

сучаснае расейскае літаратурнае мовы". Тымчасам куды бліжэй да праўды было-б у гэтым выпадку спаслацца на самога Леніна, які ў 1917 годзе казаў:

...Весь народ польский пропитан насквозь одной мыслью о мести москалям. Никто так не угнетал поляков, как русский народ. Русский народ служил в руках царей палачом польской свободы.²⁴

Ленін, праўда, казаў пра палякоў, а не пра беларусаў. Але сказанае ім поўнасьцяй датычыла й да стану на Беларусі ў 1862-1863 гадох, дый паўстаньне-ж на Беларусі, не зважаючы на разыходжаньні ў Каліноўскага з Варшавай, рабілася разам з Польшчай. У гэтым ленінскім значаньні ўжывалася слова „маскаль” і ў беларускай літаратуры XIX-пачатку XX стагодзьдзя. У гэтым значаньні ўжывалі яго Янка Купала, Якуб Колас ды іншыя пісьменьнікі ў сваёй творчасці.

Янка Купала:

Проста жывём мы, як доля лучыць,
І крывадушыць не прабавалі...
Просім папросту: кінце нас мучыць,
ляхі, маскалі!²⁵

Якуб Колас:

Толькі-ж, брацьце, край ня згінуй,
Не пагнуўся яго стан,
І із нас душы ня выняў
Ні маскаль, ні польскі пан.²⁶

Незалежна ад таго, якія іншыя, прыхільныя або няпрыхільныя, выказваньні Каліноўскага пра расейскі народ знаходзяцца ў архівах — у „Мужыцкай Праўдзе” словы „маскаль” і „маскоўскі” на ўсе 48 разоў 39 разоў азначаюць расейцаў.

„Мужыцкая Праўда” й русыфікацыя

Паўстаньне 1863 году як на Беларусі й Жамойці, гэтак і ў Польшчы, мела нацыянальна-вызвольны характар. Зьвязваньне-ж яго савецкай гістарыяграфіяй і публіцыстыкай галоўна да сацыяльнага аспэкту — нічога іншага, як спроба прыхаваць якраз тое, што родніць савецкі рэжым з царскім: расейскі імперыялізм і русыфікацыю.

Выдаўцы „Мужыцкае Праўды” добра усьведамлялі сабе маскоўскі імперыялізм зь ягонай народагубнай палітыкай

русыфікацыі, калі пісалі ў 4-м нумары газэты: „У нас, Дзяцюкі, адно учаць у школах, каб ты знаў чытаці па маскоўску, а то для того, каб тебе заўсём перэрабілі на маскаля”.

Мясяцціны гэтае савецкія аўтары ня цытуюць і не камэнтуюць. На яе накладзеная маўклівая забарона. Яна тлумачыць у вялікай меры, чаму поўныя тэксты „Мужыцкае Праўды” цяпер не перадрукоўваюцца ў савецкай Беларусі.

Сэнс-жа гэтых словаў нагэтулькі ясны, што яго ня прыхаваеш ніякай казуістыкай „марксыцка-ленінскае мэтадалёгіі”. Словы гэтыя сьняня нагэтулькі актуальныя, што партыйная цэнзура й дасюль баіцца іхнага ўздзейваньня на псыхалёгію сучасных беларусаў. Гэтыя словы найвымоўней кажуць пра тое, што змаганьне, на якое Кастусь Каліноўскі ўздымаў беларускі народ, і ў якім сваё жыцьцё ахвяраваў, яшчэ ня скончанае.

Памяць пра К. Каліноўскага

Пра Кастуса Каліноўскага ня толькі багатая навуковая, публіцыстычная й мастацкая літаратура, — вобраз ягоны шырака адлюстраваны і ў выяўленчым мастацтве: малярстве, графіцы, скульптуры. Вельмі слаба, аднак, памяць пра Каліноўскага перахоўваецца інстытуцыялізаваным парадкам, а таксама ў манумэнтальным мастацтве. Тут усё йшчэ дзеіць інэрцыя сталінскіх часоў, калі Каліноўскі „быў залічаны ў лягер беларускіх буржуазных нацыялістаў”, а Міровічава гістарычная драма пра яго, „адна зь лепшых п’есаў 1920-х гадоў” (упяршыню паказаная ў Беларускім Дзяржаўным Тэатры 2. XI. 1923 г., а ў 1928 г. экранізаваная) трапіла была ў катэгорыю „антысавецкіх пэрлаў”.²⁷

Няма на Беларусі сьняня ані школы ані друкарні ймя Каліноўскага, ані ягонага музэю, ані помніка яму ў сталіцы рэспублікі. Каліноўскаму пастаўлены адно, паводля Беларускае Савецкае Энцыкляпэдыі, помнік у гарадзкім пасёлку Сьвіслачы (дзе Каліноўскі хадзіў у школу) ды ў Сьвіслацкім раёне названы ягоным імём калгас.²⁸ Ёсьць таксама ў Менску вуліца Каліноўскага. Гэта, бадай, усё, чым афіцыйная Беларусь памятае змагара за ейную свабоду.

Але гэта ня значыць, што не рабіліся спробы культываць шырэй памяць пра „рэвалюцыянера-дэмакрата”, які „абараняў права беларускага народу на нацыянальную свабоду і разьвіцьцё нацыянальнае культуры”.²⁹

Яшчэ ў 1958 годзе, прыкладам, была прынятая пастанова арганізаваць у Сьвіслачы музэй Каліноўскага,³⁰ з чаго, аднак, нічога ня выйшла. У 1965 годзе жыхар сталічнага

Менску мастак Зьміцер Маслаў спрабаваў быў запачаткаваць музэй Каліноўскага ў сябе на кватэры (на вул. Каліноўскага № 22). Маслава падтрымала ў 1966 годзе газэта „Літаратура і Мастацтва”. У нумары за 28. VI. 1966 г., пад загалоўкам „Памагчы энтузіясту”, гэты орган Міністэрства культуры БССР і Саюзу пісьменьнікаў Беларусі заклікаў дапамагчы Маславу ў „сапраўды нялёгкай справе” — стварыць музэй Каліноўскага. Год пазней у газэце „Чырвоная Зьмена” (15. III. 1967 г.) Маслаў цешыў сябе й прыхільнікаў праекту, што „думка аб арганізацыі музэю сялянскага рэвалюцыянера, якая ўзьнікла некалькі гадоў назад, набывае канкрэтнае ўвасабленьне”. Але спадзяваньні Маслава, што „хутка прыйдзе той час, калі можна будзе адкрыць музэй выдатнага сына беларускага народу” — спадзяваньні, падтрыманыя як „вельмі слухная” думка рэдакцыяй маладзёжнае газэты — ня ўжыццёвіліся. Дарэмнай засталася просьба „Чырвонкі” да чытачоў „аказаць дапамогу ў стварэньні музэю”. Ад таго часу мінула ўжо шмат гадоў, а Беларусь усё йшчэ чакае на музэй свайму „выдатнаму сыну”.

¹ Працы пра „Мужыцкую Праўду” часткава пералічаныя ў даведніку „Бібліяграфія па гісторыі Беларусі. Фэадалізм і капіталізм”, Мінск, 1969, бб. 218-219.

² І. Лушчыцкі. Нарысы па гісторыі грамадска-палітычнай і філасофскай думкі ў Беларусі ў другой палавіне XIX веку. Мінск, выд. БДУ, 1958, б. 133.

³ А. Ф. Смирнов. „Мужичья правда” (у зб. Восстание 1863 года и русско-польские революционные связи 60-х годов. Москва, издат. АН СССР, 1960, б. 11).

⁴ Генадзь Кісялёў. Сейбіты вечнага. Мінск, Дзярж. выд. БССР, 1963, бб. 66, 67.

⁵ Ф. Янкоўскі. Гістарычная граматыка беларускай мовы. Ч. I, Мінск, выд. „Вышэйшая школа”, 1974, б. 44.

⁶ М. Цікоцкі. З гісторыі беларускай журналістыкі XIX стагоддзя. Мінск, выд. БДУ, 1960, б. 48.

⁷ А. М. Налівайка, Т. А. Бурэйка. Беларуская літаратура. Мінск, выд. „Вышэйшая школа”, 1971, б. 39.

⁸ Складальнікі: С. Александровіч, А. Лойка і В. Рагойша; кніга выйшла ў менскім выдавецтве „Вышэйшая школа”.

⁹ Беларуская Савецкая Энцыклапедыя, т. 7, б. 302.

¹⁰ М. Цікоцкі, цыт. пр., б. 48.

¹¹ А. Ф. Смирнов, цыт. пр. б. 17.

¹² Тамсама, б. 20.

¹³ Тамсама, б. 21.

¹⁴ Prasa tajna z lat 1861-1864. Część 1. Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków, wyd. Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1966, str. 318.

¹⁵ БелСЭ, т. 5, б. 266.

¹⁶ БелСЭ, т. 7, б. 302; тое самае кажа й А. Ф. Смирнов, цыт. пр., б. 33.

¹⁷ А. П. Грыцкевіч. Рэлігійнае пытанне і знешняя палітыка царызму перад падзеламі Рэчы Паспалітай (Весці АН БССР. Серыя грамадзкіх навук, 1973, № 6, б. 63).

¹⁸ А. Ф. Смирнов, цыт. пр., б. 32.

¹⁹ Гл. зб. дакументаў: Революционный подъем в Литве и Белоруссии в 1861-1862 гг. Москва, издат. „Наука”, 1964, б. 125. Дакладна гэткае-ж тлумачэньне дае гэтаму тэрміну й беларускі пісьменьнік Алесь Якімовіч у сваёй гістарычнай аповесці для маладога чытача — „Кастусь Каліноўскі” (Мінск, выд. „Беларусь”, 1971, б. 29). Найшырэй пра слова „маскаль” — у тым-жа самым духу — гл. А. Ф. Смирнов, цыт. пр., бб. 29-31.

²⁰ Толковый словарь живого великорусского языка Владимира Даля. Третье, исправленное и значительно дополненное издание под ред. проф. И. А. Бодуэна-де-Куртене. Том. 2, СПб-Москва, 1905, б. 912.

²¹ Толковый словарь русского языка, под ред. проф. Д. Н. Ушакова, т. 2. Москва. Гос. издат. иностранных и национальных словарей, 1938, б. 264.

²² Академия наук СССР. Институт языкознания. Словарь современного русского литературного языка, т. 6. (Москва-Ленинград, издат. АН СССР, 1957, б. 1284).

²³ І. Лушчыцкі, цыт. пр., б. 245.

²⁴ В. И. Ленин, Речь по национальному вопросу (29 апреля (12 мая) 1917 г.), т. 31. Полное собрание сочинений, 5-е изд., Москва, 1962, б. 432).

²⁵ Янка Купала, верш „Папросту”, зб. Спадчына. Мюнхэн, выд. „Бацькаўшчына”, 1955, б. 101.

²⁶ Якуб Колас, Сымон Музыка. Паэма, Мюнхэн, выд. „Бацькаўшчына”, 1955, бб. 80-81.

²⁷ А. А. Семяновіч. Беларуская савецкая драматургія, Мінск, „Нав. і тэхніка”, 1968, бб. 65, 66.

²⁸ БелСЭ, т. 9 (1973), бб. 446, 447.

²⁹ „Літаратура і Мастацтва”, 23. VII. 1958.

³⁰ „Полымя”, 1965, № 12, б. 192.



A. Гутель і Р. Кудрэвіч. Кастусь Каліноўскі
A. Huhel and R. Kudrevič. Kastus Kalinowski

“МУЖЫЦКАЯ ПРАЎДА”

Тэксты

Музыкажа Прауда № 1

Дzieciuki!

Minuło uže toje, kali zdawało sia usim, szto muzykaja ruka zdasce tolko do sachi, — ciepier nastau taki czas, szto my sami możem pisaci, i to pisaci takuju praudu sprawiedliwu jak Boh na niebi. O, zahreміć nasza prauda i jak małanka pierielecić pa świeci! Niechaj paznajuć szto my możem nie tolko karmić swaim chlebom no jeszcze i uczyć swajej muzyckoj praudy.²

Pytali i pytajuć usie, szto czuwaci na świeci, chto nam biednym muzykam dać wolność? No praudu skazauszy mało chto chce skazaci tak jak³ sumlenie każe — pa sprawiedliwości. My muzyki, braty waszyje, my wam budziem hawaryć ceľuju praudu, tolko słuchajcie nas!

Maskali, czynouniki i mnoho panou, buduć pierepyniać pismo nasze da was; no najduć sia ludzie i z muzykou razumniejszije i z pańskaho rodu i z miasteczkowych, szto choczuc waszej swobody, waszaho sčecha, — jony to wam sami⁴ heto pismo dawaci buduć, kab wy znali chto wasz pryjaciel, a chto wasz woroć.

Sześć let uže minuło, jak paczali hawaryć a swabodzie muzyckoj. Hawaryli, tałkawali i pisali mnoho, a niczoho nie zrabili. A hety manifest szto Car z Senatom i z panami dla nas napisau, to taki durny, szto czort wiedaje da czeho jon padobny, — nijakoj u niom niema praudy, niema z jeho dla nas nijakoj karyści. Parabili Kancelaryi, zrabili sud, jakby heto nie usio rouno brać u sraku czy z sudom, czy bez suda. Parabili Pisarou, Pasrednikou, a usio za muzyckije hroszy i wielkije hroszy — czort ich wiedaje na szto; dla toho chyba kab zapisywali [u] książki, jak mnoho napiszuć na srakach muzyckich. A z hetoho to i widać, szto nam niczoho dobraho i nie dumali zrabici.

Prauda abieszczali to kaliś dać nam wolność; no jak nam zdajeć sia na nasz muzycki rozum szto choczuc aszukaci, bo kali prez sześć let niczoho nie zrabili, to czerez rok peunie nie zrobiać. Mohuć jeszcze napisaci i druhi manifest, jeszcze bolszj ad hetaho, no i z hetaho druho manifestu niczoho dobraho jak i z pierszaho nie budze.

Ad maskala i panou nie ma czeho spadziwaci sia; bo jony nie wolności a hłumu i zdzierstwa naszego choczuć. No nie douho jony nas buduć abdziraci, bo my paznali hdzie siła i prauda i budziem wiedać jak rabić treba kab dostać ziemi i swabodu. Ważniem sia Dzieciuki za ruki i dziarżem sia razem! a kali pany choczuć trymac z nami, tak niechaj że robiac po świętej sprawiedliwości: bo kali inaczej — tak czort ich pabiary! Muzyk pakul zdużaje trymaci kosu i sakieru, baranić swaho patrapic i u nikoho łaski prasić nie budzie.

Hetu: Muzyckuju Praudu napisau i znou pisaci budzie Jaśko haspadar z pad Wilni.

Kasztuje hroszy 5.

Muzyckaja Prauda № 2⁵

Dzieciuki!

Kali Boh stworyu usich ludziej wolnymi i usim dau adzinakuju duszu, tak skul że heto uziało sia szto adzin marnuje da i nad ludźmi zbytkuje a druhi biedny pańszczyzu służyć, albo abroki u kaznu płacić?

Kożny pa swojemu tałkuje, na swoju storonu ciahnie. Car każe szto jon dobre nam dumaje, a pany każuć szto jony dobre dumając nam zrabici a muzyk biedny ad ich dabrości jak prapadau tak i prapadaje.

Kab raztałkawać ludziom u czom prauda ja piszu pismo, a pisaci budu jak Boh i sumlenie każe — wy adnoho⁶ mienie, takoho samoho muzyka jak i wy, paśluchajcie dobre.

Byu to kaliści narod nasz wolny i bahaty. Nie pomniać he-taho naszyje baćki i dziedy, no ja wyczytau y starych książkach szto tak kaliści bywało. Pańszczyzny tahdy nijakoj nie było. I niema czeho tamu dziwowaci sia, by było lesu szmat, pola kolko chcesz, a ludziej to mało, tak nasztoż służyć pańszczyzu za ziemi kali kożny moh lesu wycierebić, chatu sabie pastawić i mieci swaje pole.

No u susiedztwie z nami żyu Niemiec i Maskal. Adnamu i druhomu bahactwo naszoje kałoło u oczy — kab ich tak kolka schapiła, da i chacieli nas zahnać z naszej baćkouszczyny. Treba było baranici sia, tak karol każe chadziem baranici a tut nie usie iduć, da i mało naszych paszło. Wyhnali to Maskala i Niemca — no kab ženki da i dzieci hetych szto chadzili na wajnu mieli za czym prażyci, tak Karol nasz i napisau takoj prawo: Hetyje szto nie choczuć iści baranici swajej ziemi, niechaj abrałajuc pole hetym szto bjuć sia za wolność i szczaście usich. I hetak było douho: adni baranili kraju, usio chadzili pa wojnach a druhi je to harali to siejali to kasili to żali. Z hetul to i uziała sia heta pańszczyzna. Sudziecież ciepier sami czy można było zrabici spr-

wiedliwiej jak zrabiu kaliści Karol Polski da i Litouski? No kali Maskal z Niemcom chitrościeju nas padbiu i paszou rą maskouski tak i usio zrało sia pa czartousku. Stau zaraz Maskal swoj rą uwodzić w naszom kraju i każe: Muzyk dawaj rekruta, muzyk dawaj padatki, da i pańszczyzu jeszcze służy, albo płaci abrok u kaznu! Tak jakajaż tut uż sprawiedliwość, kali usienko szto ciazko zwalajuc na muzyka, kali z jeha dzieruc astatniu szkuru, bjuć i płacać nie dajuc! Aczyniali to byli muzyki, uhledzieli szto kiepsko, da dawaj buntowaci sia pad Kaściuszkaju; a Kaściuszko to każe: kali muzyki choczuć uż sami baranici swaju ziemi tak niechaj że nie służyć pańszczyzny, da i nie płaciac u kaznu abroku za ziemi. Ot heto tak sprawiedliwość! — no sztoż kali Maskal spyniu Manichwest Kaściuszki kab niepabuntowau usiech muzykou. Dla taho to i pabili Maskale Kaściuszku, bo kab muzyki usie razem byli zbuntowali sia i uchapili za sakiery, naży i kosy, takby Maskal musieuby prapaści bez poustania i my nawiek wiekou uż byliby wolnyje.

Tak z hetaho piśma i widno: szto muzyki pańskije i kazionnyje nie powinni płacić ani czynszu panom ani abroku u kaznu za ziemi bo heta ziemi da nas należyć; no kali budzie wajna z Maskalom za naszu wolność, to toj czas treba usim iści nawajnu prociu Maskala. A to dla taho: kab chuczej prahnać Maskala z jeha sabaczym rądom i kab nikoli, nijakoj, nikomu muzyki pańszczyzny nie służyli i nijakoho u kaznu abroku nie płacili i kab na wiek wiekou narod nasz byu wolny i szczaśliwy. A kali was chto budzie padmaulać rabici inaczej: czyż to Spraunik, czy to Akrużny, czy to Łapsesor, czy to Pan, to wy jeha niesłuchajcie, bo to peuno aszukaństwo, szto za carskije albo pańskije hroszy wiecznoj waszej zhuby chocze!!

Jaśko haspadar z pad Wilni.

Kasztuje hroszy 5.

Muzyckaja Prauda № 3⁸

Dzieciuki!

Żywuczy pad rądom maskouskim kożny wiedaje szto jon nas abdziraje i hłumić, no mało chto dobre padumau czy można ad jeha spadziwacisia czeho leń dla nas, albo dla dzieciej naszych. Ja Dziaciuki lepsz znajuczy ad was uzdumau napisaci piśmo kab nie mahli tumanić rozumu waszaho. Dla toho czytajcie z uwahaju, a jak piereczytajecie dawajcie da druhoj wioski.

Czeławiek to takuju maje naturu, szto albo niczoho nie wiedaje i niczoho mieci nie chce, albo⁹ kali dawiedajec sia, to chce zrazumieci dobre i dastaci usięko szto jemu należyć. Heto wielikaja prauda. Ot jeszcze nie dauno hawaryli naszyje, szto jeny stworeny dla toho, kab służyli pańszczyzu i byli niewolnikami, a hawaryli dla toho szto niczoho niewiedali i niczoho

mieci niechacieli, — a czy siehodia hetak skażuć, kali uże wiedając mnoho i mnoho chcując? Siehodnia usie uże parazumnieli; usie uże muzyki tałkując, szto Boh stworyu czeławieka kab jon karystawau z wolności sprawiedliwej i smiejąc się jak heto mahli inak dumaci. Heto prawo szto narod¹⁰ robić się rozumniejszym, wychodzić ad samoho Boha, a chto jemu schocze spraciulaci się, taho albo sam Boh albo narod pa przykazu boskomu z ziemloju zmieszaje!

Wy dziaciuki peunie wielmi ciekawyje skul że heto narod tak parazumnieu? Ja wam skażu skul heto.

Kali Prancuz pod Swistopolom¹¹ zausim pabiu maskala, to dla toho kab maskal nie mieu siły i hroszy, przykazau narodowi daci wolność, niebraci rekrutou i wielkich padatkou. Maskal zhadziu się na heto, bo dumau szto narod durny i patrapic jeha aszukaci! Jon to chacieu adno pieremienić niawolu, no baczu wielmi aszukau się, bo chacia nam rząd maskouski niczoho u sześć let nie zrabiu, no my jak paczuli szto i muzyk może być wolny, tak paczali pytacisia u ludziej rozumniejszych i tałkawaci pamięć saboju, aż zrazumieli szto to wolność znaczyć. Ot skul heto uziął się szto narod parazumnieu. My siehodnia usie uże wiedajem, szto czeławiek wolny heto kali ma je kusok swajej ziemi, za katoru ani czynszu i abroku nie płacić, ani pańszczyzny nie służyć, — kali płacić małyje padatki i to nie na carskije stajni, psiarni i kurwy, a na potrebu całego narodu, kali nie idzie u rekruty czort wiedaje gdzie, a idzie baranici swaho kraju tahdy tylko, kali jaki nieprzyjaciół nadyjdzie, — kali robić usięko szto spadabaje i szto nie kryudzić bliźniaho i chwały boskoj, — kali wyznaje tuju wieru jakuju wyznawali jeha bački, dziedy i pradziey. Ot szto wolność znaczyć. Siehodnia to rząd maskouski nas nie atumanić, bo my ciepie nie takije durnyje jak byli upiered i paznali szto nam nie manichwestou carskich a wolności potrzeba.

Maskal to chitry, jon to Dziaciuki chce kab nie daci niczoho, a narod dumau szto uże ma je usio jak należyć. Nie mieryuszy sudziecie chacia z hetaho a jeha chitrości. Dwa roki uże tamu, kali jeszcze nijakich manichwestau a wolności nie abjawlali, narod u Piecierburhu, Maskwie i pa całej Rassiei paczau wielmi kryczaci, szto kali rząd nie dać jemu wolności, to jon całego hradoju 19 Fewrała zbuntujećsia, tahdy Car baczu zbajausia i wieleu Senatawi zjehaci się, a narodowi abjawić szto u Poście wolność dastanie. Narod durny pawieru da i razyszousia, a Car z Senatom patałkawauszy, jak minęła trewoha, tak i abjawi u miejscu wolności manichwest, a u manichwestie przykazywaje muzykam służyć da czasu pańszczyzny pastaromu, a pa nowomu zapłacić bolsz hroszej u kaznu na pisarou, pośrednikou, da i czort ich wiedaje na szto. Sudziecież ciepie sami czyż nie aszukiwajuc nas?

No nie na douho zdasce im krucielstwo, bo jak ja kazau my uże paznali szto nam nie manichwestau a wolności potrzeba — i to

wolności nie takoj jakuju nam Car schocze daci, no jakuju my sami muzyki pamięć saboju zrobimo. A dla toho Dziaciuki kab nichto was nie moh aszukaci, ciepie uże tałkujcie pamięć saboju jakoj wam wolności potrzeba i jakim adno sposobom muzyk jeju dostać może. Tolki dziaciuki śmieło, bo z nami Boh i praua, a kali my z Bohom to z nami wajewaci trudno bo boska moc wielika i narodu mnoho.

Tak z hetaho piśma i widno: szto niema czeho żdaci ad nikoho, bo toj tolki żnie chto pasieje. Tak siejcież Dziaciuki, jak przyjdzie para pounoju rukoju nie szkadujcie pracy — kab i muzyk byu czeławiekiem wolnym, jak je na caluśkom świecie. Boh nam dapamoże!!!

Jaśko haspadar z pad Wilni.

Kasztuje hroszy 5.

Muzyckaja Prawda № 4¹²

Dziaciuki!

Niema i kuska ziemi na świecie kab ludzie byli adzin u druhoho usio dobryje, niechacieli życi s kryudaju swaho bliźniaho. Dla toho, kab była sprawiedliwość i praua na świecie, a żyje ludzie niezbytawali i kryudy druhim nierabili, je rząd, szto biere padatki, robić szkoły, naucza je kaźnaho kab żyu pa praudzie, stanowić sud: a kali heto niepamahaje i robić się niesprawiedliwość, to najma je wojsko i tak ściereże kaźnaho ad licha i zdzierstwa. Ot na szto rząd potrzebny. I jak dobry słuha gładzić chudoby haspadarskiej i słuchaje swaho haspadara, tak dobry rząd gładzić pawinien szczęścia ludzi, słuchać narodu i rabici tak jak narodowi lepiej. I nie dziwo, bo nie narod zrobiony dla rządu, a rząd dla narodu.

Hetak dziaciuki robić się na caluśkom świecie. A kali za hrancaju czy to u Prancuza czy u Angliczanina, narod spahadaje rządowi, to dla toho szto rząd słuchaje narodu i robić tak, kab narod byu bahaty i szczęśliwy. A u nas Dzieciuki czy hetak? czy u nas je sprawiedliwaja nauka u szkołach, szto uczyć życi bez kryudy druhoho? czy je praua i sprawiedliwość u sudzie? czy może czeławiek być peuny szto jeha nichto nie skrywdzić? czy rząd maskouski dumaje ab ludziach, kab jeny mahli życi szczęśliwie? Sami skażecie.

U nas Dzieciuki adno uczać u szkołach kab ty znau czytaci pa maskousku, a to dla toho kab ciebie zausim piererabili na maskala. Sudy maskouskije — heto wouczaja jama, gdzie nie razbierając czy za taboju praua, czy nie, a skubć adno jak mohuć. Bezpieczności pad maskalom nijakoj niema, chto duźszy toj i głumić; a wojsko to nie dla toho trzymając kab abierehaci kaźnaho

ad złych ludzi i ad hłumu a dla toho kab niepazwolić narodowi i zastanać kali paznaje swaju niewolu, kali zhledzić sia szto dzie-ruć z jeha nad siły: Rąd maskouski jak toj lichy pan, szto paczau-szy ad Kamisara aż do Ciwuna pazwalaje każnamu narod hłumić kab no jak najbolsz hroszej u kieszeń jeha dostało sia. Rąd mas-kouski Dziaciuki nie tak robić jak rabici treba, niedumaje kab palechczyć narodowi, a wymyszlaje adno sposoby jak abadraci i zausim ludziej zhłumici.

Czemu hetak robić sia pad rądom maskouskim ja wam skażu — wy adno mienie pasłuchajcie.

Rąd heto zausim tak samo jak czeławiek. I jak czeławiek maje haławu na toje kab dumau, a ruki i nohi kab zrabiu tak jak za-dumau, tak rąd maje Cara kab rądziu, a czynounikou pa usich miestach i miasteczkach kab rabili jak Car zachocze. Dla toho jak haława u czeławieka kali zadumaje kiepskoje, to nohi i ruki kiepskoje zrobiać tak u rądzie kali Car hłumu zachocze, to czy-nouniki hłumu narobiać. A z hetaho to i widać szto zdierstwo jakoje u nas wyczauplajuc, to nie dla toho robić sia, szto u na-szom kraju niema ludziej zdatnych na czynounikou, hatowych i życie swaje addaci dla narodu,¹³ a dla toho szto Car heta-kich ludziej u Sybir wysyła, a za naszyje hroszy naznacza je czy-nounikami hetych szto adno sami ludziej hłumiać druhim hłumić pazwalajuc i Boha niebajac sia. Hetaki czynounik niedawiedzie uże da rozumu — jon kali i niema przykazu Cara, to sam wydu-maje sposob jak abadraci biedny narod. I hdzież tut szukaci praudy?

Tak z hetaho piśma i widno szto hłum, zdierstwo i niespra-wiedliwość wychodzić ad samaho Cara — jon to z nas wybiera je wojsko, jon to z nas wydzieraje hroszy niby na patrebu naroda, a uziauszy sia zausimi hyclami za ruki, adno nas ciemieżyć, trymaje u niawoli. No prychodzić jemu uże kaniec, bo muzyk paczuu wol-ność — a muzycka wolność heta usio rouno szto szubienica dla usich zdiercou i hłumicielou naroda. Dla toho to Car spynia je wolność muzyckuju i spyniaci budzie, dla toho to¹⁴ kali u panou sto raz pytau jakuju jeny choczuc daci wolność muzykam, u mu-zykou i razu nie spytau jakoj jeny choczuc wolności. Jon znaje jakaja to wolność muzyckaja, jon wiedaje szto muzyk choczec kab nichto nie śmieu draci z nikoho — i dla toho jak my jeha rądu, tak jon naszej wolności baic sia.

Dziery z nas Car, dzierecie z nas czynouniki jeha chacia da astatniej szkury; no pamiatajcie szto i na nas prydzie para, pa-miatajcie szto kali muzyk razhulajec sia, to jak świet szeroki, krou wasza paljec sia!!!

Jaśko haspadar z pad Wilni.

Kasztuje hroszy 5.

Muzyckaja Prawda № 5¹⁵

Dziaciuki!

Mało toho szto z muzyka dzieruc na usiakije Padatki astatniu kaszulu, mało taho szto nikoli nie możesz dabici sie da kuska chle-ba, a usio szto zarobisz addaci musisz czort wiedaje kamu i czort wiedaje na szto, mało taho, kažu, szto życie naszeje horsz saba-czaho, a skażecie maje mileńkie, czy je¹⁶ pomieź nami chto leń kab nie apłakiwau jeszcze albo swajego syna, albo swaho brata, albo swaho muža, szto Car zabrau jeha u rekruty, da i zahnuu czort wiedaje hdzie?

Pracuje baćko ciazko na dzieciutki swaje, haduje maci syna, noczeńki nie śpić, a Car sabacza wiera,¹⁷ jak hety wouk zakrau-szysia wialic ławici, u dyby skuci i hnaci ad rodni daloko. A mas-kouskoje życie — horka uże dola. Zabyci tam treba, szto je u nas nasza baćkouszczyna, szto je u nas nasza radnia, a addaci życie nie za dobro i szczascie usich, a za lichy i wiecznu niewolu na-szych bratou. Hetakaho licha Dziaciuczki i skacina nie znaje, wy maje mileńkije peunie i nie padumali skul jeno na nas nawiałosia, czy hetak musić byci? Usio¹⁸ ja wam raztołkuju, a chto maje prau-du u sercu i dobra¹⁹ choczec toj mienie pasłuchaje.

Pomniać jeszcze naszyje dziedy, pakazywajuc jeny, szto za ich czasou muzyki rekruta i nie znali. Było wojsko to prauda, no wojsko polskoje usio było ze szlachty, a kali muzyki czasami za-chacieli iści na wajnu, tak zaraz z ich znimali muzyctwo da i pan-szczynu, dawali ziemlu, a usiu wiosku rabili szlachtoju, — stul-to u nas i parabilisia hetyje akolicy szlacheckije. Tak za toje, szto czeławiek szou na wajnu, baraniu swaju baćkouszczynu, to rąd polski dawau ziemlu, dawau wolność, dawau szlachectwo, a mas-kal czy hetak robić? Za toje, szto my jemu 25 let na wojnach służymo bez ludzkaj strawy i adzieży, mało taho, szto nie daje szlachectwa, no sabacza jucha nie daje nawet kuska ziemli, kab chacia²⁰ ciazko harujuczy dabicisia da spakojnoj śmierci. Praszu-żysz 25 let da i torbu uziauszy idzi żebrawaci! A szto hrechu nabiereszsia piered Bohom spryjajuczy Maskalewi, taho nikoli Boh nie daruje. Idzie Prancuz dawaci wolność muzykam, buntu-jućsia miasteczkowyje da i maładzież za swaju i naszu wolność i wieru, a my to dajemo rekruta i naszymi hrudziami Car maskou-ski zastaulajecsia i naszymi rukami uśmiraje bunt i zaprahaje nas usich u wiecznu niewolu. Toho chto nam dobre dumaje my wyhaniajem, tamu chto nam lichy robić my pamahajem, — czyż nie hreszno piered Bohom, a nie stydno piered całym świetem? Sami skażecie: prauda szto my byli durnyje, i jak hetyje awieczki niczoho nieznali, no zdajecsia para uże parazumniec, uhledzieć praudu.

Wy wiedajecie Dziaciuki dobre, szto Prancuz przykazu nie-dawaci uże bolsz Maskalewi rekruta, dlatoho kali Car zachocze

uziacy, tak celaju hramadaju²¹ zhawaryuszysia nihdzie jemu nie daci.²² Jon ciepier chce uziac 5 s tysiacza, no jak damo²³ 5, to jon pozniej zachocze uziaci 10 i znou pojdzie pa staramu. Ciepier my jemu addamo hyclou, no pozniej treba budzie addaci i swaich synou. — Tak dlatocho — Dziaciuki talukujcie dobre i niedawajciesia aszukiwac. Za muzyckuju kryudu stoicie smielo usie razem i kali chto zachocze kryudzic,²⁴ wyciahaci rekruta; to chtoby jon nie byu, czy to Starszyna, czy Akruzny, czy choc sam Gubernator, to wy joho tauczycie muzyckuju rukuju, a budzie wolnosc i rekruta nie budzie i Boh nam dapamoze!!!

Tak Dziaciuki pa dobraści da ładu nie dojdziem!

Jaśko haspadar z pod Wilni.

Pakazywajuc szto muzyki koło Warszawy zbuntowali sia i nie dali rekruta. Tahdy Car pa niewoli musieu darawaci.

Tak pytaju was Dziaciuki — sztoż nam treba zrabici?

Kasztuje hroszy 5.

Muzyckaja Prawda № 6²⁵

Dziaciuki!

Czy maja praua horka, czy jena sałodka, ja pisau zausiudy i pisaci budu — uczyu ja was jak rabici treba i uczyci budu. Wy adno sluchajcie mienie, talukujcie dobre i rabiecie tak jak sumlenie Wam skaże, a Boh zlitujeć sia²⁶ nad nami i dać nam szcascie i dabro u nas budzie.

Kali Boh stworyszy czelawieka dau jemu duszu, to nie na toje kab jon żyu jak sabaka na hetom, a na tamtom swiecie prapadau na wiek wiekou u mękach piekielnych, — a dla taho Dziaciuki kab znau zakon Boży, znau swaho Boha, znau swaju wieru i zaslużyu na szcascie niebiesnoje. Kali Syn Boski pryszouszy na hety swiet ustanawiu praudziwuju wieru i za hetu wieru cierpieu kryżowyje męki, to nie dla taho, kab jakijeś tam Cary maskouskije, bajstruczaho rodu, pieremieniali zakon Boży, a my, na przykaz hetych Carou, wyrekli sia wiery swaich Dziedou i Pradziedou i nie chwalili Boha, a radniu carskuju, no dla toho Dziaciuki Boh Najwyższy cierpieu za nas, kab zakon Jehu byu uże wieczny, nichto nie smieu pieremieniaci, a my z celój mocy trzymali sia jehu.

No czy hetak Dziaciuki robic sia u nas jak sam Boh przykazywaje, czy dzierzymo sia²⁷ zakonu boskaho? Sami skazecie. Nie adzin uże moze zabyu sia, szto baćko jehu byu jeszcze sprawiedliwej unjackoj wiery i nikoli uże nie spomnic na toje szto pierewiernuli jehu na syzmu, na prawoslawje, szto jon siehodnia, jak toj sabaka żywie bez wiery i jak sabaka zdochnie czartam da piekła!!! O, Dziaciuki, lichu takomu czelawiekowi! A kali my budziem hetak rabici z Bohom, tak sztoż Boh najwyższy z nami zro-

bić? Addać u Piekło na wiecznyje męki, buduc czerty duszu naszu na kuski rwaci a smoła u wantrobach kipieci budzie. Pznajesz tahdy swaje lichu — no u piekle pa nieuczasiu uże budzie, nie piereprosisz tahdy uże sprawiedliwaho Boha i mękam twaim nikoli kanca niebudzie.

Ciepier pytaju was Dziaciuki — chtoż nam heto lichu nara-
biu i szto zrabici treba, kab my żyli szcasciwyje i na hetom i na tamtom swiecie?

Narabiu nam hetaho licha Dziaciuki, — heto Car Maskouski, jon to pierekupiuszy mnoho papou, wieleu nas u syzmu zapisaci, jon to płaciu hroszy kab my tolko pierechadzili na prawoslawje i jak hety Antychryst adabrau ad nas naszu sprawiedliwuju — unjackuju wieru i pahubiu nas piered Bohom na wieki; a zrabiu heto dla toho, kab moh nas bez kanca draci, a Boh sprawiedliwy nie mieu zlitowania nad nami.

No Boże wszechmocny, miłosierny ty nasz Panie, ty ab nas nie zabywaj, zlituj sie nad nami, pamaży nam u naszej niedoli, wyzeni Maskala z naszaho kraju, daj nam praudziwuju wolnosc i wieru naszych Dziedou i Pradziedou, a kaścioły, szto Maskal, nieczysta jehu sila, parazkidau albo pierarabiu na stajni i cerkwi, znou zajaśniejuć Twajeju chwałou i narod u nich chwalici Ciebie budzie, jak chwalili naszyje predki. Zaśpiewajem tahdy u adzin hołos naszu pieśń swiatuju: "Święty Boże, święty mocny, święty nieśmiertelny — zmiłuj się nad nami!" i Boh najwyższy zmiłując sia nad nami, — dapamoze nam u naszej pracy, a na tamtom swiecie dać królestwo niebieskoje — i nie buduc uże dzietki naszyje swaju matku praklinaci, szto na swiet radziła!

Pakazywajuc ludzie szto Święty Ociec, aż z Rymu przslau uże da nas swaje blahoslawienie, (no Maskal jehu spyniaje) — haworać szto przszle i ksiendzou, szto buduc prymaci na unjackuju wieru. Tahdy Dziaciuki chto adno wieryć u Boha, Jehu Syna i Ducha Swiatoho, niechaj zaraz pakidaje syzmu i pierachodzić na praudziwuju wieru Dziedou i Pradziedou. Bo chto nie pieroidzie na uniju, toj syzmatykom zastanieć sia, toj jak sabaka zdochnie, toj na tamtom swiecie piekielnyje męki cierpieci budzie!

Tak hodziż uże Dziaciuki życi bez nijakoj paciechy na swiecie kali Boh miłosierny maje zlitowanije nad nami, a ty czelawiecze, jak piereczytajesz, albo paczujesz hetu praudu, zhawary paciery, kab Boh wszechmocny dapamoh ludziom, szto dobro nam dumajuc, szto choczuć kab my byli wolnyje jak szlachta,²⁸ chwalili Boha pa praudzie i zaslużyli na Niebo na tamtam swiecie.

Hetaho dla was od duszy chce, wasz brat, taki sam z Dziedou Pradziedou muzyk jak i wy; no jeszcze Unjackoj wiery — Jaśko haspadar z pad Wilni.

Kasztuje hroszy 6.

Dzieciuki!

Douho mouczau ja niekazau wam niczoho, bo chacieu rozgliczescia³⁰ dobre da rozobrać, szto heta dziejescia na świeci, szto b uže spowieścić Was po sprawiedliwości da skazać jak nakazuje Boh da sumleńne, szto nam ciepień treba robici. Żdać mouczki bolsz uže nie zmoha! Pomirkujmo tolki szto dumając ciepień zrobić z nami. Obiecau nam car ziemię, — czynouniki, popy, da maskali, usi u adzin hołos duryli nas, szto car nam szczyro dumaje, da daść wolu, Sprawiedliwuju Wolu. I słuchali my cara. Kazau jon nam jeszcze dwa hody służyć panszczynu i panszczynu my adbuwali. Nakazau car niekruta dali my jemu i niekruta, a sami mouczki hłodzieli, jak naszych synkou da bratou na kraj święta pahnali. Nakinuu nam podusznoho — płacili my podusznie za żywych i umierłych, za dziećej da za starcou niedużych, płacili my ziemsku powinność, da wialikije³¹ zbory, płacili na pasiarednika, na praulenie, starszym, pisaram okružnym, asesoram — da Boh wiedaje kamu nie płacili — da usio niepytali kudy iduć nasze hroszy. Usi nas kryudzili da usi abdzirali i biu nas silnieszij, kryudzili bohaty³² — a na toje nidze niebuło sprawiedliwości. My usio mauczali, da słuchali, usim kłanialiś, za usio płacili, usio cierpień żduczy kanca, bo spodziejaliś sprawiedliwej wolności, spodziejaliś, szto dać wolu ziemieli da u podusznom sprawiedliwy pobor budzić. — Zamist toho szto oddać naszą ziemieli³³, da jakujuż³⁴ ziemię?! hetu szto z dziećou pradziećou, krounoju pracej dziesiać raz uže jeje zarabili da zapłacili. Za hetu ziemię car nakazuje nam czyśy płacić u kaznacejstwo. Da jakijeż czynsz? Jakije uzdujajecca postanowić czynounikam, da sudowym krowopijcam, da jeszcze z kożnym hodom usio bolszyje da bolszyje. — Tak woli nam uže i nie budzie: wiek ceły placi, da na wiek niesi astatki, szto adplacicsa Pałatam da Prauwleniam. Padmanuu że nas car, a jeho służki popy, czynouniki da maskali podwieli nas jak czort dobru duszu.

Mało toho: bieruczy niekruta na wieśni kazau car, szto bolsz brać nia budzie: — my jak taja dziećina i powieryli, szto nie budzie, a ciepień bacz! i znou car nakazuje z każnoje wołosci rastanować po sto chłopcou szto pojduć u maskali po achwocie, a jak achotnikou nie budzie tak hramada prysudzić komu iść u niekruty. Skrucusia chiba! szto to chto iszou u maskali po achwocie. Tak oś uže u drugie podmanuu nas car z niekrutom. Uziau piacich z tysiaczy, a ciapier dawaj sto z wołosci, a u osieni jeszcze może dwieści abo trysta zachocze, bo car so swoimi maskalami nie padużaje muzykou szto podnialisia u Polsce i nie podleje Prancuza, szto za Polszczu ustupiusia. U Polszczu muzyki tak samo jak i my spodziejaliś na cara, da żdali woli od niego, — da jak pobaczyli, szto car tolki lostoczkami duszu wyjmaje, a nowymi

podatkami, niekrutom da czynszami ostatniu soroczku z nich zdzierci chce, — ot usi razem z wilami da z kosami pojzli dobiwacca ziemi da praudu, a inszy i światoj unijackoj wiery. Ot i dobiliś. Wyjszou uže Polski Manichwest. Ziemia wolno dajecca usim muzykam; bo heto ichnia ziemia z dziećou pradziećou, za hetu ziemię nichto nie maje odroblać panszczyny i czynszou nijakich nikomu płacić; podusznoho bolsz nie budzie, a usi muzyki i pany i mieszczanie, usiak obsłużyć 3 hody u swojej ziemi i znou sobie wolnyj. Unijackije kościoły, szto maskali zabrali, addajecca nazad unijatam i chto chce, maje prawo chreścić dziećej po unijacku da do unijackich ksiendzou iść do spowiedzi i po staromu Bohu molicca, jak jeszcze baćki nasze moliliś.

No ciepień sami razbirajcie: dzie bolsz prauda, ci u polskom manichweście ci u carskom? Car obiecau dać wolność — da nie-dau. Obiecau nie brać niekruta, a ciepień uže druho ho nakazuje. Polski Manichwest dau ziemię, nie bierze niekruta, skinuu podusznie, powiernuu uniju. No, skażyciez, bratki! chto nam lepsz dumaje? Pomoh by Prancuz³⁵ — dyk sztoż — car adkazuje szto u nas muzyki usim dowolny, inszoje woli niechoczyć, szto jeny lubiać cara, da duszy, szto szluc jemu listy, da znosić podatki, da achwotno płocić czynsz, a niekruta postanawiać kolki caru zauhodno, a Unii nichto nie chce! I tak³⁶ nas car podmanuwaje, skrywić chce praudu, szto nas sousim pohubić. A Prancuz na nas tolki żdzie da komuż jon pomahać stanie, kali u nas budzie cicho. A my choć nam carskije służki zniewieryliś nadto, robim usio szto jeny nam niskazuć. Takim sposobom nie zaznać nam woli, da sprawiedliwości. Nie tak dumali muzyki u Polszczu. Służyli jeny jemu wierno, jak i my, da pobaczyuszy, szto nie wysłużyć niczoho, stali dobiwacca i dobiliś woli. A ich carskije służki duryli, jak nas ciepień durać — podmoulali szto b słac listy do cara piereproszajuczy, da po staromu nieści podatki, da dawać niekruta, — uczyli ich jak donosić odzin na odnoho, jak łowić da maskalam odstanoulać, da mało zniojszłosia takich, szto to niebajuczyś Boha ni soromu ludzkoho służyć maskalam, bo uže spoznali muzyki carskuju dumku. A takich, szto za hroszy nie pobojałiś służyć woroham naszym, szto nie chacieli muzykam ziemi, da praudy na świeci, da spreczny byli nowoj wolności, da nowomu polskomu manichwestu, hetakich wieszajuc, jak podłych sobak, sieliszczu ich opuścieli, poszli, z dymam ich chaty, propała marno chudoba.

Podumajcie dobre, da pomoliuszysia Bohu stańmo družno razem za naszaju wolność! Nas car uže nie podmanie — nie podwieść maskali! niema dla nich u naszych siolach ni wody, ni chleba — dla nich my głuchi³⁷ i niemy — niczoha — nie baczyli i nie czuli. A pokul jeszcze pora, treba naszym chłopcam spieszyć z widłami³⁸ da z kosami tam, dzie dobiwajecca woli da praudy — a my ich baćki da żonki nasze, sciereczci³⁹ budziem da

uwiedomlać odkul na nich ciahnie nieczysta maskouska siła da od duszy pomohać wsielaczimi⁴⁰ sposobami dzieciukam naszym, szto za nas pojduć bicsa. — A budzie u nas wolność jakoj nie było naszym dziedam i baćkam.

Jaśko gospodar z pod Wilni.

Kasztuje hroszy 5.

¹ Агурскі ў сваёй кнізе падае перад некаторымі нумарамі „Мужыцкае Праўды” архіўны пашпарт. Гэтак, перад № 1 стаіць: „О возмутительных воззваниях в Белостоке. Лист 13 вложения. Дело 1862 г. № 23 143”.

У польскім зборніку „Праса тайна” (далей у зносках гэтае выданьне абазначаецца літарамі „Пт”) падаюцца даты — прыблізныя — зьяўленьня кожнага нумару „Мужыцкае Праўды”; нумар першы датуецца: „перад 10/22. VII. 1862”.

² Некаторыя савецкія аўтары, пад ціскам русыфікацыйнае практыкі, памылкова пішуць: „учыць сваёй мужыцкай праўдзе”, што становіць сынтаксычную кальку з расейскае мовы.

³ У Пт гэтае слова прапушчанае.

⁴ У Агурскага гэтае слова прапушчанае.

⁵ У Пт дата: „канец VIII. 1862”.

⁶ У Пт: adno

⁷ У Пт: czy

⁸ У Пт дата: „перад 6/18. X. 1862”.

У Агурскага архіўны пашпарт: „Его Императорского Величества Собственной Канцелярии Отделение III Экспедиции I № 230. Часть 2. О возмутительных воззваниях. Лист 86”.

⁹ У Шлюбскага прапушчаныя словы: albo niczoho nie wiedaje i niczoho mieci nie chce, albo

¹⁰ У Агурскага слова „народ” прапушчанае, але яно ёсць у Пт; безь яго траціцца сэнс.

¹¹ Ход пра аблогу Севастопаля французскім і ангельскім войскам у часе Крымскае вайны 1855 году.

¹² У Пт дата: „паміж X-XI. 1862”. Дата ў зборніку „Революционный подъем в Литве и Белоруссии в 1861-1862 гг.”, Москва, 1964, б. 129: „не пазней як 28 сьнежня 1862 г.”

У Агурскага архіўны пашпарт: „Ліст 86/2”.

¹³ Словы „готовых і жыце свае аддаці для народу” прапушчаныя ў расейскім перакладзе, зьмешчаным у зб. „Революционный подъем в Литве и Белоруссии в 1861-1862 гг.”, Москва, 1964, б. 130.

¹⁴ У Агурскага памылкова: dla toho szto

¹⁵ У Пт дата: „пасля 18. XI. 1862”; у зб. „Революционный подъем...” (б. 130): „сьнежня 1862 г.”.

У Агурскага архіўны пашпарт: „Ліст 86 3”.

Ведамыя два выпускі нумару 5-га „Мужыцкае Праўды”: адзін на двух баках ліста (з гэтакага, відаць, сьпісаны тэкст у Агурска-

га), другі — на адным баку (фатастат гэтакага выпуску зьмешчаны ў зб. „Восстание 1863 года и русско-польские революционные связи 60-х годов”, Москва, 1960, б. 39. Гэтыя два выпускі розьняцца стылістычна: у другім прапушчаныя некаторыя словы, няма таксама ў канцы дапіскі пасля подпісу „Ясько гаспадар з пад Вільні”. Наш варыянт пададзены паводля фатастату ў зборніку „Восстание 1863 года...”, а дапіска — паводля Агурскага.

¹⁶ У Агурскага: jeść

¹⁷ У Агурскага: sabacza jeho wiera

¹⁸ У Агурскага: Usio heto

¹⁹ У Агурскага: dabra

²⁰ У Агурскага: kab moh chacia

²¹ У Агурскага: celymi hramadami

²² У Агурскага: nie dawajcie

²³ У Агурскага: no jak my jemu damo

²⁴ У Агурскага: kryudzić was

²⁵ У Агурскага пашпарт: „Лист 93/3”.

У Пт дата: „перад 10/22. I. 1863”.

²⁶ У Пт: O Boh jeszcze zlitujeć sia

²⁷ У Пт: czy dzierzymo sia my

²⁸ У Пт: kab my byli wolnyje jak szlachta, mieli swaju ziemlu

jak szlachta, chwalili Boha...

²⁹ У Пт дата: „VI. 1863”.

³⁰ У Пт: rozhledziecsa

³¹ У Пт: usielakije

³² У Пт: kryudziu bohatszyj

³³ У расейскім перакладзе 7-га нумару „Мужыцкае Праўды” ў зб. „Восстание в Литве и Белоруссии 1863-1864 гг.”, Москва, 1965, б. 25, прапушчаныя словы: da u podusznom sprawiedliwy pobor budzić. Zamiast toho szto oddać naszu ziemielku

³⁴ У Пт: da jakojuś

³⁵ У Пт: Pomoh by Francuz i nam, jak pomohaje muzykam u Pol-szczy

³⁶ У Пт: I tut

³⁷ У Пт: hłuchi

³⁸ У Пт: z wiłami

³⁹ У Пт: scierehci

⁴⁰ У Пт: usielakimi

Ліст № 1

I da naszaho kutka dalacieła wasza Gazetka i my jaje z uwa-
hoj praczytali; wielmi jana usim spadabałasia, bo prauda napi-
sana. Pryjmiecie dla taho naszu padziaku, a piśmo oddrukujcie,
kab znau swiet Boży, jak muzyki Biełorusy hladziać, i czaho pa
swajej sile dabiwacisia buduć. Słowo nasze prostoje, no zato
szczyreje; kali jano dojdzie da Rządu Polskaho, adkryje jamu na-
szu hrudź, da i pakaże szto pa naszemu rabici treba kab panawaniu
Maskouskam u nie ciapier, to pazniej kaniec uże pałazyći.

Za usich staron Maskali ciapier tałkujuć nam bez ustanku
o swajom bratstwie z nami. Praudziwa dziwota, żywuczy pad rą-
dem Maskouskim hetulki czasu, ciapierleć my ab hetom paczuli,
dla taho nie biaz karyści budzie pahlanuć jak heto maskouskije
braty sami u siabie haspadaryli da i z nami rabili, kab paznać ich
szczyrość i prawo na bratstwo naszoje.

Nie budziem hawaryci z jakich narodou Maskali paustali,
bratstwa tam nie mnoha najdziem, niawola Manhołou da i carou
maskouskich, zausim zabiła u hetom narodzie usiakuju pamiać a
swabodzie, da i zrabiła z jaho hramady ludziej pahanych biaz
mysli, biaz praudy, biaz sprawiadliwości, biaz sumlenia da i biaz
bajaźni Boskoj. Z hetakim narodom cary maskouskije, szto to ży-
wuć ludzkoju kryudaju, padbili ziamlu naszu pad swajo panawa-
nie, tut to my ich i paznali, hetych jak jany siabie nazywajuć bra-
tou naszych.

Rząd Polski prawiuszy nami, nie brau z nas rekruta, nie ad-
rywau narodu ad dziaciej, ad baćkou, da i ad ziamli rodnej i nie
hnau hdzieś u kaniec swieta kab zawadzić niawolu, wyciskać słozy
i prakleństwa na duszy naszej. Rząd Polski kali brau z nas padym-
noje, to nie zawodziu hetakich stajennych padatkou na duszy
naszy szto to da Boha adno należać. Rząd Polski majuczy Boha u
sercu, nie upisau nas u syzmu, u katoroj adno za Cara da za Cara
malicisia treba, jakby uże Car byu Bohom na swiecie, a wiera da
kazny należała. Rząd Polski użo tamu budzie 70 let, wypiereżajuczy
mnoho susiedzkich narodou, paczau uże tałkawaci a swabodzie
r. użyczoj i rouności bratniej muzyka z szlachcicom, a Jenarał
Kaściuszka, szto to kažuć, kala Słonima radziusia, i a katorym
narod nasz spiewaje, szto jon wielmi byu dobrym i maskala krep-
ko biu, wyskazausia jon za wolność naszu, no maskal to, pieraszko-
dziu i zawiou swaje rady.

Pahlańmoż ciapier szto jon zaraz paczau rabici, hety dabra-
dziej muzycki, jak sam ciapier każe: najpiersz kab nie mahło
wyrablacisia sumlenie narodnoje, pakasawau maskal usie schodki
ludziej wybarnych, usie szkoły naszy, a tak ababrauszy z sumlenia
da i z rozumu, a zawiouszy u nas swoj paradok maskouski, pazwo-
liu kożnomu duższomu hłumićsia nad biedym jak tolka chce.

Panou zausim uwolniu ad usiakich ciężarou, dau im prawa zawa-
dzić panszczynu maskouskuju, a jana to, nia try daj nie sześć
dzion z chaty, no 6 dzion z duszy raboczej. Muzyku nie tolka szto
nie dau nijakoho prawa, no jeszcze adabrau i toje prawo, jakoje
jon mieu od rządu polskaho; mnoha ludziej wolnych da i karaleu-
szczynny wialeu u panszczynnu upisać, każnomu można było mu-
zyka kryudzić, a czynouniki maskouskije nie rabili jemu nijakoj
sprawiedliwości, no jeszcze kali sud na hłum nie zsyłau muzyka
u Sibir, to addawau na wieczność u sałdaty. Kali jaki pan pasłu-
chauszy sumlenia iszou za praudu i sprawiadliwość i spraciulausia
prykazu Carskomu, katory każe: **dziary biary dai mauczy**, tady
jaho kali nie uciok da Prancuza, u turmu brali da i u Sibir hnali,
a dwor z ludźmi u kaznu zabrali, stul to u nas i muzyki kazionnyje.
Piarwiej jany służyli kaźnie panszczynnu a pośle u abrok ich upi-
sali daj akrom abroku haniali biaz nijakoj padziaki usialakomu
czortu na rabotu, to akružnomu, to assessoru daj kożnamu chto
adno pieriekupiu.

Naczalstwo oś to jakoje maskouskoje dla muzykou, a niby
dabradziej! niechaj toj sam sudzić chto piśmo maje czytaci budzie,
ja adno skažu pa szczyroj praudzie; szto kali nam pad rądem pol-
skim nie zausim było dobra, to jak maskal stau nami prawić,
zrabiu jon dla muzykou czystoje piekło na swiecie.

Tut skazaci jeszcze treba, szto jon zmusiu nas pakidaci baćkou-
szczynnu, iści u rekruty, daj wajawaci nie za przykaz Boski, nie za
praudu i sprawiadliwość, no za hłum, za niawolu nie raz prociu
bratou da baćkou naszych. Tut skazaci treba, szto maskal dabradziej
muzycki, zniauszy z panou usielakija padatki zwaliu ich adno na
mużyckoje plemia, abłażyu padatkami i muzyckuju ziemi u mu-
życkije chaty, i muzyckuju duszu, i muzyckije dzieci i muzyckuju
skacinu, żywych i umiorszych.

No nie tut jeszcze kaniec maskouskaha dabradziejstwa. — Z
dziedou i pradziejou była u nas Unijackaja wiera, heta znaczyć,
szto my buduczy hreckoj wiery przyznawali za Namieśnikou Bos-
kich światych Ojcou szto u Rymie. Carom maskouskim i heto stała
zawidna, dla taho skasawauszy u Maskwie hreckuju wieru, a zra-
biuszy Carskuju, szto to nazywajećsia **prawosławie** i nas adarwali
ad praudziwaho Boha i upisali u syzmu pahanu. Takim sposobom
ababrauszy z hrosza, z ruk spasobnych, zaprahli nas u panszczynnu,
i kab słozy muzyckije nie trapili piered tron praudziwaho Boha,
zabrali nam i duchounu naszu paciechu, — naszu wieru Unijac-
kuju. Prauda ludcy joś za szto padziakawaci! . .

A czynouniki to maskouskije — jeszcze adno dabradziejstwo.
Czytau ja u książkach, szto joś na swiecie iakaś szarancza, katora
jak hdzie pakażećsia, usiu chudobu haspadarsku zhłumić, majem
my bratki horszuju jeszcze od toj saranczy, a heto czynouniki
moskouskije z swajoju praudou i sprawiedliwościeju, jany ludzi
wielmi zdatnyje, szto to pa maskousku prawornyje, umiejuć tak

ablizać czaławieka, szto z ruk ich wyjdiesz holeńki jak maci ra-
dziła — i żywi pad hetakim rądem biaz sudu i praudy.

Zaraz pa wajnie z Prancuzom pad Siewastopolem, paczali
mież nami słuchi chadzici, szto mając muzykam dać wolność.
Żdali my douha, aż nareszci try let tamu, wyszou ukaz Carski, —
prauda mnoha tam było papisano a karyści to dla nas mało. Pa-
rabili adno kancelarji, pasrednikou, starszynou, pisarou usio za
hroszy muzyckije, a panszczyznu jak chadzili tak i treba było cha-
dzici. Daczuuszy my heto stali praciuny i tut to i maskali naszlisia
kab prymusić nas da miłości Carskiej, a nahajka kazackaja miała
skrepić nasz bratni uziół, nia wiedoju adno z kim, ci z panami, ci
z maskalami. Niechaj za mianie skażuć tyje, szto mieli achwotu
skreplaci, dabradziei naszyje braty maskouskije.

Trudno skazać jak douha my by panszczyznu chadzili kab
nie poustanie Polskoje. Rząd Polski abjawiuszy swoj manichwest,
ziemlu muzyckuju addau muzykom na wieczność i my to pierestali
zaraz panszczyznu chadzić.

A kali Boh usio mahuczy nawiarnuu panou da praudy i zrabiu
ich pasłusznymi przykazam Rządu Polskaho, tahdy maskalom nas-
tau kiepski czas, i jon musieu pa niewoli prypisacisia da naszaho
i żydouskaho bratswa. Bacz jaki mudrony brat; adnak krychu i tak
aszukausia, bo jak toj kazau: “i u brata nie swaja chata” i brat
paszouby u paustanie kab mieu jakuju kaczarhieszku u ruki uziaci;
a żyd chacia pahaworka i każe: “szto jak biada, to da żyda” nie
zausiahdy hołych przyjmaje, tymbardziej takich, szto nażłaptalisia
nie mała i sloz i krouwi żydouskoj.

Na kab lapiej paznać maskouskuju chitrość, pahlańmy szczy-
rym okom szto ciapier maskali wyrablali z nami, u hetu lichuju
dla siabie hadzinu, kali pabiuszysia z Palakami kab udzierzać
swajo panawanie, da naszaho bratstwa chce upisacisia; Rząd
Polski ciapier addaje nam na wieczność ziemlu naszu za naszu
pracu, maskal pisze daj ustanaulaje jakijes tam czynszy, katorym
nikoli nijakaho kańca nie budzie, jak to mież muzykami kazion-
nymi.

Kali Rząd Polski daje nam wolność praudziwuju, maskal nie
kazu całymi siełami a całymi hramadami honić ludziej zausim
adniauszy swabodu u sibirskije pustyni. Kali Rząd Polski usim
bratnim narodom daje samorządstwo, maskal mało taho szto hetak
nie robić, no jeszcze tam hdzie żyli Palaki, Litoucy i Biełarusy,
zawodzić maskouskije szkoły a u hetych szkołach uczać pa mas-
kousku, hdzie nikoli nie paczujesz i słowa pa polsku, pa litousku
da i pa biełarusku, jak narod taho chce, a u hetyje szkoły adno
z druhoho kańca swieta maskalou nasyłając, szto tolko umiejąc
kraści, ludziej abdziraci, daj służyć za hroszy pahanamu dziełu
na hłum narodu. Dziki maskal dumaje, szto kali może narod ab-
dziraci za usiakaho dabytku, to i patrapić każnomu ubić u haławu
swoj durny rozum, durny dla taho, szto rozum maskouski, kali nie-

raz charaszo każe, to nikoli paludzku niczoha nia robić adno lu-
dziej abmanywaje, a piered knutom carskim hniecsa jak astatni
wałacuha.

Trudno usio heto razkaci szto my uże krouju zapisali, tak
szto slozy ljućsia czytając bezprauje jakoje maskali rabili, daj
da hetoj pary jeszcze robiać. Chto chce daznać praudziwaho
smaku, niechaj sam pażywie pad rądom maskouskim, to i pahla-
dzić, jakoje dabradziejstwo muzyki mieli; oś to dla czaho kažem:
szto polskoje dzieło, heto nasze dzieło, heto wolności dzieło.

No nie mało pracy treba kab zdabyć hetu swabodu, katoroj
żdze usiakij, paczauszy ad dziaci da staroha dzieda, bo kali mas-
kal hetulki let upuskau swaje pazury u hrudź naszu, tak nie dziwa
szto treba paciarpieć douha, kab wyrwacsa z pad jaho bratniej
apieki, dla taho i nie biaz karyści budzie kali ciapier patałkujem,
jakije my majem na to spasoby; hawaryć tut budziem mało, kożny
wiedaje dla czaho, bo maskal nie pawinien wiedać pierieniauszy na
prypadek piśmo heto.

Douha Palaki żdali pamocy z zahranicy, narody czużeziem-
nyje kryczali mnoha, i da hetoj pary niczoha dla nas nie zrabili,
każuć szto jany nie mając nijakoj patreby swajej u polskim dzie-
le, kab na maskala iści za nas wajawaci. Dwieści let tamu nazad,
a bački naszy lapiej uże kazali: “kali majesz Boha u sercu, i pry-
kaz Jaho, pamahaj bliźniemu” i iszli baranić Chreścijanstwa od
Tatarskoj dziczy, da hetakoj pamocy, chacia i majem prawa, no
my nie wymahajem, niechaj kożen robić jak jamu lapiej zdajecsa.
Adnak skazaci tut treba, szto kali usie karali padpisali naszu nie-
wolu maskouskuju, to jeny wielmi skryudzili cześć swoju, szto
zmyć hetoje biazczęście nie tolka patreba, no kożen musić, kab
mieć sumlenie czystoje.

Dla toho znajączy jak staic nasze dzieło za hranicę, nie pie-
restajem wieryć, szto myśl Boska prawiouszy wieki nie dać za-
hinuć, praudzie i sprawiedliwości. kali uże nie najdzie dla taho
sposobu u ciapiereszniem paradku, razarwie hety uziół, daj pa-
wiernie siłu narodu kudy schocze. Nam adno silno z szczyroj wie-
roj za swajo stajaci treba, a rząd nasz pawinien być na usio czutki,
kab moh dla dabra narodnaho zausiahu karystawać, siły naszy
jeszcze wialiki, wajować z nimi możem, Boh wiedaje jak douha,
no dla taho treba z adnej starany ich abierehać, a z druhoj wy-
rablać szto raz to nowyje.

I tak kali paustanie zrobieno pad dobruju poru, uzrastaje
i ażyulaja narod, — nie u czas, marnuje siły kożnaho, osłablaje
w prastocie ducha, daj razwodzić i niewieru u dzieła nasze, u moc
Bożu. Rząd Polski i jaho czynouniki, wiedając heto i dla taho kab
służyli dobre piered Bohom i sumleniem narodnym robiać nie
sztucznyja zawieruchi, no paniauszy ducha narodnaho, jeho patre-
by i wolu, padchwatywać daj rozumno zastaulać polki narodnyje,
a razwiwajączy niepadatliwość, u narodnych nieskańczonych bun-

tach, stawić aporu maskouskomu u nas panawaniu. Rabota tut nie chutka daj nie pakaźna, no za to peuna, i jana nas dawiadzie da kańca dobroho. Rabota tut siermiazna, dla taho kab była skuteczna, pawinna być tak szczyra i prosta, jak toje serce szto bje pad siermiahoj, jak toj rozum muzycki szto niepierebiraje, kali rabić treba. Tahdy słowo Rądu Polskaho wolność, rouność daj swaboda narodu, pierojdzie u krou koźnaho i ceła moc maskouskaja nas nie pieremoże, chaciažby jemu samoje piekło pamahaci stało.

Ruk achwotnych i siahodnia u nas dawoli, no z hołymi rukami nie iści na sztyki Maskouskije. Rąd Polski i Jaho czynouniki pawinni dobra nad hetym padumać, hroszy u nas buduć, bo my znajem patrebu taho, bo my majem sposoby na toje. No kab za naszy hroszy my mieli szto u ruki uziaci. Rąd polski hetomu zaradzić; a kali natrapić pieraszkozy, to pry pomocy Boha i swaho prawa upisanaho u naszych hrudziach, usio z czasem pieramoże.

Ty adnak Narodzie nie dażydajsia, da z czym możesz idzi wajawaci za swaho Boha, za swajo prawo, za swaju chwałę, za swaju baćkouszczynu. Dla ciebie usio možna, noż, siakiera, atruta; heta twaje sposoby, bo tabie jak tamu muzyku nie wolnomu, biezpraunamu nie pryznajuć prawa samoabarony, bo tabie niczoha nie možna.

A kali narody zahranicnyje z dziwa razinuuszy rot skażuć, szalonyje, Ty narodzie wialiki i czesny, praudoj im adkaży szto jany tamu pryczynoj, szto heto na ich sumlenie ciazkim hrechom laże.

Ліст № 2

Maryśka czornobrewa hałubka maja,
Hdzież sia padzieła szczęście i jasna dola Twaja;
Usio prajszło, — prajszło jakby nie bywało,
Adna straszenna horycz u hrudziach zastała.

Kali za naszu praudu Boh nas stau karaci,
Daj u pradwiecznaho sadu wieleu prapadaci,
To my prapadziem marno, no praudy nie kiniem,
Chuczej Niebo i szczęście, jak praudu abminiem.

Nie narekaj Marysia na swaju biazdolu,
No pryjmi ciazkuję karu Pradwiecznaho wolu,
A kali mianie uspomnisz, szczyra pamalisia,
To ja z taho swietu Tabie adazwusia.

Bywaj zdarowy muzycki narodzie,
Żywi u szczęści, żywi u swabodzie,
I czasem spamiani pro Jaśku twaho,
Szto zhinou za praudu dla dabra Twaho.

A kali słowo pierojdzie u dzieło,
Tahdy za praudu stanawisia smieło,
Bo adno s praudoj u hramadzie zhodna
Daždżę Narodzie starości swabodno.

Ліст № 3

Braty maje, muzyki radnyje!

Z pad szybienicy maskouskoj prychodzić mnie da Was pisaci, i może raz astatni. Horko pakinuć ziamielku radnuju i Ciebie daruhi moj narodzie. Hrudzi zastohność, zabalić serce, no nie žal zhinuć za twaju praudu.

Pryjmi Narodzie pa szczyrości majo słowo predsmiertnoje, bo jano jakby z taho swietu, tolko dla dabra twaho napisano.

Nie masz Bratki bolszaho szczęścia na hetym swiecie, jak kali czaławiek u haławie maje rozum i nauku. Tahdy jon tolka może być u radzie, życi u dastatkach i tahdy tolko pamaliuszysia pa praudzie Bohu zasłużyć Niebo, bo zbahaciuszy naukoj rozum, razauje serce, i radniu cełu szczyro palubić.

No jak dzień z noczej nie chodzić razem, tak nie idzie razem nauka praudziwa z niawoloj maskouskoj. Da pakol jana u nas budzie, u nas niczoha nie budzie, nie budzie praudy, bahactwa, i nijakoj nauki, adno nami jak skacinoj waraczać buduć, nie dla dabra no na pahibel naszu.

Dla taho to Narodzie, jak tolko kali paczujesz szto braty twaje z pad Warszawy biućsia za praudu i swabodu, tahdy i Ty nie astawajsia z zadu, no uchapiuszy za szto zmożesz, za kasu, siakieru i cełoj hramadoj idzi wajawaci za swaje czeławieczaje i narodnoje prawo, za swaju wieru, za swaju ziamlu radnuju. — Bo ja tabie z pad szubienicy kažu Narodzie, szto tahdy tolko zażywiesz szczęśliwo, kali nad taboju Maskala užo nie budzie.

Twoj sluha JAŚKO haspadar z pad Wilni.

⁴¹ Адам Станкевіч у сваёй кнізе „Кастусь Каліноўскі, „Мужыцкая Праўда” і Ідэя Незалежнасці Беларусі” (Вільня, 1933, бб. 59-60), у заўвагах да бібліяграфіі, піша:

Пісьмы Яські Гаспадара з-пад Вільні (Кастуся Каліноўскага) да беларускага народу з-пад шыбеніцы, якія пачынаюцца ад слоў:

а) „І да нашага кутка даляцела ваша газэтка...”. Гэта пісьмо даволі доўгае, мала знаае, мае ў сабе акцэнтны выразна беларускія народніцкія.

б) „Марыська чарнабрэва галубка мая...”. У гэтым пісьме К. Каліноўскі пад імем Марыські, як гэта відаць з тэксту яго, разумее Беларусь.

в) „Браты мае, мужыкі родныя”.

Усе тры гэтыя пісьмы падае Agaton Giller (Historja powstania narodu polskiego, 1861-1864, t. I, Paryż, 1867, str. 327-335). Гілер называе іх пісьмамі Каліноўскага: „З-пад шыбеніцы”... Арыгіналу бачыць мне не ўдалося, як не ўдалося даведацца, дзе яны ёсць і ці ёсць агулам.

Тэксты лістоў падаём паводля кнігі А. Гілера, ласкава прысланыя нам у фатастаце а. Аляксандрам Надсонам, дырэктарам Беларускае Бібліятэкі імя Ф. Скарыны ў Лёндане.

PEASANTS' TRUTH

Texts

Translated by Thomas E. Bird and Jan Zaprudnik

[Before 22 July 1862]

Peasants' Truth № 1

Fellows!

The time has passed when it seemed to everybody that the peasant's hand was fit only for the plow — the time has now come that we can write ourselves, and what is more write such manifest truth as God is in Heaven. Oh, our truth will thunder and, like a lightning bolt, will streak across the world! Let every one know that we are not only capable of feeding others with our bread, but what's more, of teaching our peasants' truth to others.

Everyone has asked and keeps asking what is new in the world, who will give us poor peasants freedom? But to tell the truth there are few who want to speak as their conscience dictates — according to justice. We peasants, your brothers, will tell you the whole truth, just listen to us!

Muscovites, bureaucrats, and many landlords will intercept this letter of ours to you; but people will be found from among the intelligent peasants, from those of noble birth, and from the townspeople, who desire your freedom, and your happiness — they will give this letter to you so that you may know who your friend is and who — your enemy.

Six years have passed since peasants' freedom began to be talked about. They have talked, discussed, and written a great deal, but they have done nothing. And this manifesto which the tsar, together with the Senate and the landlords, has written for us, is so stupid that the devil only knows what it resembles — there is no truth in it, there is no benefit whatsoever in it for us. They set up bureaus and established a court as though it made any difference whether we get it in the ass with a court or without one. They have set up Scribes, Intermediaries, — all of them paid for with peasants' money and a great deal of it at that — the devil only knows for what; maybe in order to enter into record books how much they will have written on peasants' asses. And from this it can be seen that they had no intention of doing anything good for us.

It's true that they promised some time ago to give us freedom; but it seems to our peasant minds that they want to trick us, because if they've done nothing over a period of six years, then they're certainly going to do nothing in one year. They can write still another manifesto, even longer than this one, but no-



П. Сяргіевіч. Кастусь Каліноўскі й Валеры Ўрублеўскі
P. Siarhijevič. Kastuś Kalinouski and Walery Wróblewski

thing good will come from a second one any more than what has come from the first.

We have nothing to hope for from the Muscovites and the landlords, because they don't want our freedom but our abuse and oppression. But they won't despoil us for much longer for we've discovered where strength and truth lie and we'll know what needs to be done in order to gain land and freedom. Fellows, let's join hands and stick together! And if the landlords want to stick with us, let them act according to sacred justice: otherwise, let them go to hell! As long as the peasant can hold a scythe and an axe, he'll be able to defend what is his and will ask no favor of anyone.

This Peasants' Truth was written and will continue to be written by Jaśko, yeoman from near Vilna.

Price: 5 hroszy.

[End of Aug. 1862]

Peasants' Truth № 2

Fellows!

If God created all people free and gave an identical soul to everyone, how is it that one person lives a profligate life and takes advantage of people, while some other poor soul has to perform corvee or pay quitrent to the state treasury?

Each explains this in his own way, trying to bring others over to his side. The tsar says that he wants what's good for us, the landlords say that they want to do us good; and all the while the poor peasant has been ruined and continues to be crushed into the dust thanks to their goodness.

I am writing this letter in order to explain to people where the truth lies and I'll keep on writing as God and my conscience dictate — but you listen carefully to me, a peasant just as you are.

There was a time when our people were free and rich. Our fathers and grandfathers don't remember this but I've read in old books what used to be in earlier times. There was no corvee of any kind at that time. And that shouldn't be surprising because then there were many forests, as many fields as you could want, while there were few people; so why would anyone perform corvee when every man could cut down the woods, build his own house, and have his own field.

But in the vicinity with us there lived the German and the Muscovite. Our wealth struck both of them in the eye—may they be struck down with a pain in their side — and they wanted to drive us out from our fatherland. We had to defend ourselves. So the King said: "Let's go off for defense!" But not everyone

went; in fact very few of our people went. Finally the Muscovite and the German were driven away — but in order to take care of the wives and children of those who went to war, our king wrote down the following law: Those who don't want to go to defend their land must till the fields for those who struggle for the freedom and happiness of all. And this went on for a long time: some defended the homeland by continuously going to war, while others tilled, sowed, reaped, and harvested. This is how the corvee came into being. So, judge for yourselves now: Was it possible to decide more justly than the Polish and Lithuanian king did at that time? But when the Muscovite and the German defeated us through trickery and Muscovite rule was established, everything went to the devil. Now the Muscovite began to introduce his rule into our land and said: "Peasant, give me recruits. Peasant, give me taxes. And on top of that, perform corvee or pay quitrent to the state treasury!" So what kind of justice is it when everything burdensome is placed on the peasant, when they take the last shirt off his back. They beat you and then forbid you to complain! When the peasants came to realize what was going on and saw that the situation was miserable, they began to revolt under Kosciuszko's leadership. And Kosciuszko said: "If the peasants want to defend their land themselves now, let them be free of the corvee and exempt from paying quitrent to the state treasury." Now that's justice for you! — But what could we do when the Muscovite intercepted Kosciuszko's manifesto so that he would not lead all the peasants to revolt. This is why the Muscovites defeated Kosciuszko for if the peasants had all risen together in rebellion and taken up axes, knives, and scythes, the Muscovites would have perished without any uprising and we would have been free for ever and ever.

So it's clear from this letter that the peasants owned by the landlords or by the government should pay neither *czynsz* payments to the landlords nor quitrent to the state treasury for the land because this land belongs to us; but when there is war with the Muscovite for our freedom, then at that time we must all go to war against him. And that for the following reason: in order to speed up the expulsion of the Muscovite with his bestial government and so that the peasants never pay any corvee of any kind to anyone, nor any quitrent to the state treasury, and that our people be free and happy for ever and ever. And if anyone attempts to persuade you to do otherwise — whether a county Police Chief, a district state lands Administrator, a county police clerk, or a landlord — don't listen to him because it is surely a deception, paid for either by the tsar or by the landlords, aimed at your perpetual ruin.

Jaśko, yeoman from near Vilna.

Price: 5 hroszy.

Peasants' Truth № 3

Fellows!

Living under Muscovite government, each person knows that it pillages and oppresses us. But very few people have thought seriously enough whether we can expect anything from it for ourselves or for our children. As for myself, Fellows, knowing the situation better than you, I have decided to write this letter so that they do not obscure your minds. With that in mind, keep reading it carefully and when you finish it, pass it on to the next village.

Man has such a nature that either he knows nothing and does not want to have anything or, when he learns about things, he wants to understand them thoroughly and get everything that belongs to him. This is a great truth. It is only recently that our people have said that they were created for performing corvee and to be slaves and they have said this because they knew nothing and did not want to have anything. But would they say the same today when they know a great deal and want a lot? Today they are all wiser and already all the peasants keep saying that God created man in order that he might profit from a just freedom and they laugh at how they could have thought otherwise. This law that people become wiser comes from God himself and whoever would decide to oppose it will be trampled into the mud either by the will of God or by the people at God's command!

You, Fellows, are surely very curious about how the people have grown so much wiser. I'll tell you how it happened.

When the French totally defeated the Muscovites at Sebastopol, in order to deprive them of strength and money, they were ordered to give freedom to the people and not to take recruits and large taxes. The Muscovites agreed to this because they thought that the people were stupid and could be fooled! They wanted only to change the kind of servitude, but I see that they miscalculated greatly because, although the Muscovite government did nothing for us for six years, when we heard that the peasant could be free, we began to ask the more intelligent people and to discuss the question among ourselves, until we grasped what freedom means. This is the source of the people's greater wisdom. Today we know that a man is free when he has a piece of land of his own for which he pays neither *czynsz* and *quitrent*, nor performs corvee — when he pays small taxes and not for the tsar's stables, kennels, and whores at that, but for the needs of all of the people; when he does not go as a recruit the devil knows where, but rather goes to defend his own country, only when

some enemy approaches — when he does everything that pleases him and offends neither God nor his neighbor — when he professes the faith that his fathers, grandfathers, and forefathers professed. That's what freedom means. Today the Muscovite government will not confuse us because we are no longer as stupid as we were before and have realized that we do not need tsarist manifestos but freedom.

The Muscovite is sly, my Fellows, he wants to give the people nothing and have them believe that they already have everything that is coming to them. Not to go too far afield, judge their wiliness from the following. Two years ago now, when no manifestos about emancipation had yet been proclaimed, the people in St. Petersburg, Moscow, and all over Russia began to raise a loud clamor that if the government did not give them freedom, the whole population would revolt on February 19; then the tsar, I notice, became frightened and ordered the Senate to convene and to proclaim to the people that freedom would be given to them during Lent. The stupid people believed him and went away; the tsar and the Senate, having discussed the matter, when the danger was over, proclaimed — instead of freedom — a manifesto in which they ordered the peasants to perform corvee in the old way, but with something new added: they had to pay more money to the state treasury for scribes, intermediaries, and the devil knows for what. Now, judge for yourselves, whether we are not being made fools of.

But this deception won't serve them long because, as I have said, we now know that what we need is not manifestos but freedom — and not the kind of freedom that the tsar wants to give us but the freedom that we peasants will establish among ourselves. But in order that no one be able to deceive you, Fellows, talk among yourselves now about what kind of freedom we need and by what means the peasants can get it. Only, my Fellows, be brave because God and truth are with us and when we are with God, it is difficult to fight against us because God's will is great and the people are many.

So it's clear from this letter: we do not have to wait for anything from anybody because only those who sow will reap. So keep sowing, Fellows, when the time comes, with a full hand, don't spare any effort — so that the peasant will be a free man, as he is throughout the world. God will help us!!!

Jaśko, yeoman from near Vilna.

Price: 5 hroszy.

Peasants' Truth № 4

Fellows!

There is no corner of the world where all the people are good and are unwilling to live by taking advantage of their neighbor. In order to have justice and truth in the world and to prevent evil people from abusing others and arbitrarily inflicting injustice on them, government exists which levies taxes, builds schools, teaches everyone to live according to truth, and administers justice: and if this doesn't help and injustice is still perpetrated, the government hires soldiers and thus protects everyone from evil and ruin. That is why government is needed. And just as a good servant takes care of his landlord's cattle and obeys his master, so should a good government be concerned about people's happiness, obey the people, and do what is best for them. And this is not surprising because people are not created for government, but government for people.

So, Fellows, that's how it's done throughout the world. And if, in foreign countries, whether French or English, the people uphold their government, it is because the government obeys the people and does so in order that the people may be prosperous and happy. And is it like that with us, Fellows? Is there a just education in our schools, that teaches us to live without inflicting injustice on others? Is there truth and justice in our courts? Can a person be sure that no one will do him wrong? Does the Muscovite government think about whether or not people can live happily? Answer that yourselves.

In our country, Fellows, they teach you in the schools only to read the Muscovite language for the purpose of turning you completely into Muscovites. The Muscovite courts are wolf dens where they don't look into whether truth is on your side or not, they strip from you as much as they can. There's no security at all under the Muscovite government. Whoever is stronger oppresses you; and the troops are not there to defend people from evil doers and from oppression but to prevent the people even from moaning when they learn about their bondage, when they learn that they are being exploited beyond all measure. The Muscovite government is like an evil landowner who allows everybody in authority — beginning with the commissars and going down to the overseers — oppress the people in order to pocket as much money as possible. The Muscovite government, Fellows, doesn't do as it should, it doesn't intend to lighten the people's burden, but only invents ways of despoiling and totally ruining the people.

Why this is done under the Muscovite government, I'll tell you — just listen to me.

A government is just like a man. And as a man has a head in order to think and hands and legs in order to act the way the head plans, so does the government have the tsar in order to govern and bureaucrats in all the cities and towns in order to do as the tsar wants them to do. That's why — as with a man whose head thinks evil, the hands and legs do evil, the same is with the government — when the tsar wants oppression, the bureaucrats oppress. And from this it is evident that the abuses which are committed among us here are not caused by the lack of people in our land capable of becoming bureaucrats, ready to give up their lives for the people, but because the tsar exiles such people to Siberia, and, for the money we pay, appoints bureaucrats who themselves only oppress people and allow others to do so without fear of God. Such a bureaucrat will lead to no good: even if there is no order from the tsar, he will invent his own means of despoiling the poor people. And where in all of this do we look for truth?

Thus it is clear from this letter that oppression, abuses, and injustice come from the tsar himself — he is the one who takes soldiers from among us, he is the one who squeezes money from us — supposedly for the people's needs, but, together with his henchmen, only lets us live in ignorance and keeps us in bondage. However, his end is approaching because the peasant is beginning to sense freedom — and the peasants' freedom is like the gallows for all those who abuse and oppress the people! That's why the tsar obstructs the peasants' freedom and will keep on obstructing it; that's why, although he's asked the landlords one hundred times what kind of freedom they wanted to give the peasants, he hasn't asked the peasants even once. He knows what the peasants' freedom is. He knows that the peasants want no one to despoil anyone — and that is why, as much as we fear his government, he fears our freedom.

Despoil us, tsar. Let the bureaucrats rob us of even our last shirt, but remember that our time will come, remember that when the peasant begins swinging, your blood will flow as wide as the world!!!

Jaśko, yeoman from near Vilna.

Price: 5 hroszy.

[After 18 Nov. 1862]

Peasants' Truth № 5

Fellows!

Not only do they despoil the peasant of the last shirt he's got with all kinds of taxes, not only can one never assure himself of a piece of bread and must give away everything he earns

the devil knows to whom and the devil knows for what, not only. I say, is our life worse than a dog's, but tell me, my dear ones, is there anyone among us who is not crying either because his son or brother or husband has been drafted as a recruit by the tsar and sent the devil knows where?

The father works hard for his children, the mother brings up her son spending sleepless nights, and the tsar — damn him! — like a wolf, stealthily gives orders to take them, chains them, and drives them far from their relatives. And a Muscovite soldier's life is a bitter lot. We should forget that we have our own fatherland, that we have our relatives, and give up our lives — not for the good and happiness of all, but for the misery and eternal bondage of our brothers. Such misery, Fellows, is unknown even to cattle, and you, my dear ones, surely haven't thought where this misery has come from. Was it so with our grandfathers and forefathers and should it be so? All this I will explain to you and whoever has truth in his heart and desires what is good will listen to me.

Our grandfathers still remember, they testify that in their time the peasants did not know the practice of recruitment. It is true that there were soldiers, but the Polish troops consisted totally of gentry and whenever peasants wanted to go to war, they were immediately declassified from their peasant status and excused from performing corvée. They received land and entire villages were granted titles of gentry. That is where whole settlements of gentry came from in our land. So, in return for this, for going to war and defending his fatherland the Polish government gave a man land, freedom, and the rank of gentry — but does the Muscovite act the same way? For our having served him twenty-five years in wars without decent food and clothing — not only does he not grant us the status of gentry — but, dog that he is, he doesn't even give us a piece of land, so that a man, even though in dire poverty, might live until he peacefully dies. After having served for twenty-five years, take a sack and go around begging!

What's more, you commit a sin before God by assisting the Muscovite, which God will never forgive you. The French are coming to give the peasants freedom, the townspeople are revolting, and the young people are standing up for their freedom and faith and ours, while we are providing recruits; and the Muscovite tsar, shielding himself with our breasts and our hands, is suppressing revolts and harnessing all of us into eternal bondage. We drive away those who wish us well and help those who cause us misery. Isn't this sinful before God, isn't it shameful before the entire world? Answer this yourselves.

It's true that we've been stupid and, like sheep, knew nothing, but it seems that the time has come to become more in-

telligent, to see the truth. Fellows, you know very well that the French gave orders not to provide any more recruits to the Muscovites; therefore, when the tsar wants to take them, get together by whole communities and, having decided, don't give them to him anywhere. Now he wants to take five recruits per thousand, but when we give him five, then he'll want to take ten and again everything will become as it used to be. Now we'll give him tramps, but later on, we'll have to give him our own sons.

Therefore, Fellows, discuss it thoroughly and don't let yourselves be fooled. Because of abuse of the peasants, stand bravely all together and when someone wants to injure you, to take recruits, whoever he is, whether an Elder, or a District Administrator, or even the Governor himself, give him blows with your peasant hands and there will be freedom, and recruits won't be taken, and God will help us!

So, Fellows, our goodness won't do us any good!

Jaśko, yeoman from near Vilna.

They say that peasants near Warsaw revolted and refused to give recruits. Then the tsar, in spite of himself, had to abandon the idea.

So I ask you, Fellows, what should we do?

Price: 5 hroszy.

[Before 22 Jan. 1863]

Peasants' Truth № 6

Whether my truth is bitter or sweet, I have always written and will keep on writing — I have taught you how you should act and I will keep teaching you. You just listen to me, discuss it thoroughly, and act as your conscience tells you, and God will be merciful to us and give us happiness and there will be prosperity among us.

When God, having created man, gave him a soul, it was not so that he would live like a dog in this world and be eternally condemned to hellish suffering in the next — but so, Fellows, that he would know the law of God, would know his own God and his own faith, and would earn celestial happiness. When the Son of God, having come into this world, established the true faith and underwent for his faith the suffering of the cross, he did this not so that some Muscovite tsars, the bastards, might change the law of God, and we, at the order of these tsars, might deny the faith of our Fathers and Forefathers and not praise God but praise the tsar's family instead, but Almighty God suffered for us, Fellows, so that his law would be eternal, so that

no one would dare change it, and that with all our strength we might adhere to it.

But, Fellows, does it work out among us as God himself ordered, do we adhere to the divine law? Answer yourselves. Perhaps more than one of us has already forgotten that his father still belonged to the just Uniate faith and would never recall that he was converted to schism, to Orthodoxy, that today he lives like a dog, without faith, and like a dog will croak and go to the devils in Hell!!! Oh, Fellows, misery awaits such a man! If we do this to God, what will Almighty God do to us? He will hand us over to Hell for eternal suffering where the devils will tear our souls to pieces and the pitch will boil in our guts. Then you'll know what your misery is — but in Hell it will be too late, you won't beg for forgiveness from our just God then and your suffering will never end. Now I ask you, Fellows — who caused all this evil to us and what must be done so that we can live happily in this world and in the next?

This evil was brought on us, Fellows, by the Muscovite tsar. It was he who, having bribed many priests, ordered that we be enrolled in the schism, it was he who paid money so that we not only would convert to Orthodoxy and, like that Antichrist, took our just Uniate faith away from us and destroyed us before God for eternity; and he did this in order to be able to plunder us endlessly and so that our just God wouldn't have mercy on us.

But Thou, Almighty God, our merciful Lord, do not forget us, be merciful to us, help us in our misfortune, expel the Muscovite from our land, give us true freedom and the faith of our grandfathers and forefathers, and the churches that the Muscovite, with his devilish might, has destroyed or turned into stables or Orthodox churches, will be resplendent again through Thy glory and the people in them will glorify Thee as our ancestors did. We will intone in one voice our sacred song: "Holy God, Holy Mighty One, Holy Immortal One, have mercy on us!" and Almighty God will have mercy on us and will help us in our work, and in the next world will give us the Heavenly Kingdom — and our children will not curse their mothers for having given them birth!

They say that the Holy Father, far away in Rome itself, has already sent us his blessing (but the Muscovite intercepted it) — they say that he will send us priests as well, who will receive us back into the Uniate faith. Then, Fellows, whoever believes in God, his Son, and the Holy Spirit, let him immediately leave the schism and convert to the true faith of our grandfathers and forefathers. Because if someone does not convert to the Unia, he will remain a schismatic, and will perish like a dog, and will suffer hellish torments in the next world!

So, Fellows, it is enough to live without any consolation in this world if our merciful God has mercy on us and you, man, having read or heard this truth, say your prayers so that Almighty God will help those who wish us well, who want us to be as free as the gentry, to glorify God in truth and to deserve Heaven in the next world.

This is what your brother — who is from grandparents and forefathers the same peasant as you, but still belongs to the Uniate faith — wants for you from his heart.

Jaśko, yeoman from near Vilna.

Price: 6 hroszy.

[June 1863]

Peasants' Truth № 7

Fellows!

I've been silent for a long time and haven't said anything to you because I wanted to have a good look around and figure out what's going on in the world in order to let you know truthfully and tell you as God and my conscience order what we should do now. It's not possible to wait silently any more! Let's just consider what they intend to do with us now. The tsar promised us land — bureaucrats, priests, and Muscovites, all in one voice fooled us into thinking that the tsar is sincere with us, that he would give us freedom, and Just Freedom. And we listened to the tsar. He also instructed us to perform corvée for two more years and we've been providing it. The tsar ordered recruits and we gave them to him, while we kept looking on silently as our sons and brothers were driven away to the ends of the earth. He imposed a poll tax on us — and we paid a poll tax for the living and the dead, for children and infirm old men — we paid zemstvo taxes, as well as big collections, we paid for intermediaries, for local government, elders, provincial scribes, police clerks — and God knows whom we didn't pay — and never asked where our money was going. They all oppressed us and plundered us and we were beaten by the stronger and afflicted by the wealthy — and there was no justice anywhere to appeal to. We kept silent and listened and bowed to everyone, paid for everything, put up with everything, waiting for an end, because we hoped for a just freedom, we hoped that they would give us free land and a just collection of the poll taxes. But instead of giving us back our land — and what land it is! — land that from time immemorial we've earned and paid for ten times over by our own toil. It's for this land that the tsar orders us to pay taxes into the treasury. And what taxes? Taxes — which grow bigger and bigger every year — that bureaucrats and blood-

thirsty court officials decide shall be paid. This way we'll never have freedom: we'll be paying forever and will forever be giving away what is left for us to pay off the chambers and departments. We were fooled by the tsar and his servants, the priests, bureaucrats, and Muscovites, fooled as the devil fools a simple soul.

What's more: taking recruits in the springtime, the tsar said he wouldn't take any more — like children, we believed that he wouldn't and now look! Again he orders that each county give one hundred boys who will be drafted as volunteers and when there are no more volunteers, the community will decide who'll go as recruits. Has he gone mad? As though anyone would go into the army on his own. Thus, the tsar fooled us a second time as far as recruits are concerned. He took five out of every thousand and now, give him one hundred per county, and in the autumn he may ask for two hundred or three hundred more, because the tsar and his Muscovites won't overcome the peasants who revolted in Poland and won't overpower the French who took Poland's side. In Poland the peasants counted on the tsar just as we did and waited for freedom from him — but when they saw that all the tsar was doing was driving their soul away and, with new taxes, recruits, and *czynsz* payments, was taking the last shirt they owned — they went all together with pitchforks and scythes to fight for the land and truth, and some of them for the holy Uniate faith. And they got it. The Polish Manifesto had already been proclaimed. The land is given free to all peasants; because it's their land from time immemorial, for that land no one has to perform corvée or make any *czynsz* payments to anyone; there will be no more poll tax, but only a property tax as we used to pay; there'll be no more recruits and all peasants, landlords, and townspeople — everyone — will serve three years in his own land and will become free men again. The Uniate churches which the Muscovites took away are given back to the Uniates and whoever wishes has the right to christen his children in the Uniate rite and go to the Uniate priests to confession and pray to God in the old ways as our fathers used to do.

And now figure it out for yourselves where the greater truth lies — in the Polish Manifesto or in the tsar's? The tsar promised to give freedom but didn't, promised not to take recruits, but now is ordering a second draft. The Polish Manifesto gave land, takes no recruits, abrogated poll taxes, and returned the Unia. Now, tell me, brothers, who is more concerned about us? The French would help us — but what can you do — the tsar replies that the peasants are satisfied with everything, that they don't want any other freedom, that they love the tsar with all their hearts, that they send him letters and collect taxes,

readily make *czynsz* payments, and give as many recruits as the tsar wishes, and that no one wants the Unia! Here, too, the tsar is fooling us, wants to distort the truth, in order to ruin us completely. And the French are only waiting for us but whom will they help if we remain silent? And we, although very disheartened with the tsar's servants, keep on doing whatever they tell us. In this way we'll never experience freedom and justice. The peasants in Poland didn't think that way. They served him faithfully as we did, but when they saw that they wouldn't get anything for it, they began to fight and gained their freedom. But the tsar's servants were fooling them as they're now fooling us — and persuaded them to send letters to the tsar with apologies and to pay taxes as they used to, as well as providing recruits, they taught them how to inform on one another, how to seize (people) and hand them over to the Muscovites, but there were few who, without fearing God or human shame would serve the Muscovites because the peasants discerned what the tsar's design was. And people who weren't afraid to serve our enemy for money, who didn't want the peasants to have their land and see truth in the world, and who opposed the new freedom and the new Polish Manifesto have been hanged like miserable dogs, their settlements became deserted, their houses went up in smoke, and their cattle perished for naught.

Think well and having prayed to God, let's all stand together for our freedom! The tsar will fool us no longer — nor will we be taken in by the Muscovites. There is neither bread nor water for them in our villages. We are deaf and dumb as far as they are concerned — we have neither seen nor heard anything. And while there's still time, our boys must hurry with pitchforks and scythes where they are fighting for freedom and truth — and we, their fathers, and our wives, will be vigilant and will inform them where the evil Muscovite force is coming from, and we'll wholeheartedly help in every possible way our boys who will go off to battle for us. And we'll have the freedom which our grandfathers and fathers didn't have.

Jaśko, yeoman from near Vilna.

Price: 5 hroszy.

LETTERS "FROM BENEATH THE GALLOWS"

Letter № 1

Your newspaper has also reached our corner and we have read it with attention. We all like it very much because it tells the truth. Accept our thanks for it and publish this letter to let the entire world know how the Byelorussian peasants view the Muscovites and the Polish uprising, what they desire and what they will struggle for according to their strength. Our word is simple but sincere. When it reaches the Polish Government, it will open our breast to it and show what we think should be done to put an end once and for all — if not now then later — to Muscovite rule.

Now the Muscovites keep talking to us from all sides without let-up about their brotherhood with us. It is strange indeed that having lived for so long under the Muscovite rule we hear of it only now, and therefore it would be not without benefit to take a look at how these Muscovite "brothers" have been managing their own affairs and what they have been doing to us to find out about their sincerity and their right to our brotherhood.

We shall not discuss what peoples are at the origin of the Muscovites — we will not find much of brotherhood there — subjugation by the Mongols and by Muscovite tsars has completely destroyed any memory of freedom in this people and turned them into communities of bad individuals without consideration, truth, justice, conscience, and without fear of God. With such people the Muscovite tsars, who have been living by wronging other humans, have conquered and subjugated our land and thus we have come to know them, these "brothers" of ours as they call themselves.

The Polish Government which used to rule over us did not take recruits from among us, did not separate children from the people, from their parents and their native land, and did not march them to the end of the earth in order to establish enslavement there, to squeeze out tears and the damnation of our souls. The Polish Government, when it took household taxes from us, did not establish such outrageous taxes on our souls, which belong only to God. The Polish Government, having God in its heart, did not enlist us into schism in which one is required to pray for the Tsar over and over again as if the Tsar had already become God for the world and religion belonged to the government. It was about 70 years ago that the Polish Government, ahead of many neighboring nations, began discussing the peasants' freedom and brotherly equality between the peasant and the gentry, and General Kosciuszko who, they say, was born near Slonim (a town in Western Byelorussia — *Transl.*) and of whom our people sing that he was good and soundly beat the Muscovites and that he had

spoken out in favor of our freedom, but the Muscovites had interfered and established their rule.

Let us now see what they have begun doing, these "benefactors of the peasants" as they themselves claim to be: first of all in order to prevent a national conscience from taking shape, the Muscovites have done away with all the assemblies of our representatives, closed down all of our schools, and thus having robbed us of our conscience and reason and having introduced among us their Muscovite order, have allowed anyone more powerful to abuse the poor as much as he wished. The landlords have been completely freed of any burdens and been given the right to introduce the Muscovite type of corvee, and it is not three or six days from a household, but six days from a working soul. The peasant has not only been denied any right, but has been deprived of the right which he used to have from the Polish Government. Many free people as well as those working on state farms have been ordered into serfdom. Everyone was allowed to harm the peasant, and the Muscovite bureaucrats did not provide any justice for him, and what is more, if the courts did not exile the peasant to Siberia to be abused, then he was handed over to military service in perpetuity. If any landlord, following the call of his conscience, stood for truth and justice and resisted the Tsar's order, which says "Flay, grab, and keep silent," then, if he had not fled to the French, he was taken to prison and marched to Siberia, and his estate along with his peasants was taken over by the Treasury. Hence we have state peasants. First they performed corvee for the Treasury, then quitrent was assigned to them and on top of the quitrent they were driven, without any thanks, to work for any devil: either a district land administrator, or county police chief, of anyone who could pay a bribe.

This is the kind of — allegedly beneficial! — Muscovite officialdom the peasants have. Let it be judged by those who read my letter. I shall only say in sincere truthfulness: if under the Polish government we did not have it altogether good, when the Muscovites began governing us, they created an absolute hell for the peasants.

Also, it has to be said that they have forced us to leave our fatherland, become recruits, and fight not for God's law, but for oppression and enslavement, often against our brothers and fathers. It has to be said here that the Muscovites, these "benefactors of the peasants," having lifted all taxes from the landlords, shifted them onto the peasant folk, taxed their land, their houses, their souls, their children, and their cattle, both living and dead.

But this does not bring an end to Muscovite "philanthropy" yet. — From the time of our grand- and great-grandfathers we have had the Uniate faith, which means that, while being of the

Greek faith, we recognized as God's Representative the Holy Fathers who are in Rome. This, too, made the Muscovite Tsars jealous and, therefore, having abolished the Greek faith in Moscow and having established a Tsarist one, which is called **prawosławie** (Orthodoxy), they tore us away from the true God and enlisted us into the baneful schism. In this way, having robbed us of our money and able hands, they have harnessed us into serfdom and, to prevent the peasants' tears from coming before the throne of the true God, they took away from us our spiritual consolation — our Uniate faith. Indeed, my dear people, that is something to be thankful for! . . .

And take the Muscovite bureaucrats — one more "benefit." I have read in books that there is such thing in this world as a locust which, wherever it appears, plunders all of a farmer's cattle. We, my brothers, have something even worse than that locust and that is the Muscovite officials with their "truth" and "justice". They are very adroit people, or to put it in Muscovite language, **prawornyje**, they know how to lick a man so that when he leaves their hands he is as naked as at birth — and we have to live under such a government without justice or truth.

Immediately after the war with the French at Sebastopol, rumors began to circulate among us that freedom would have to be given to the peasants. We had been waiting a long time and finally, three years ago, a Tsarist ukase was promulgated. True, much was written in it, but there was little of use to us. They only created offices, intermediaries, chairmen, and scribes — all at the peasants' expense — but as we had been performing corvee, we had to continue it. Having learned about it, we began to resist, and it was then that the Muscovites turned up to force upon us acceptance of the Tsar's favors, and the Cossack whip was meant to reinforce our "brotherly" ties — I only don't know with whom, the landlords or the Muscovites. Instead of my telling you about it, let it be told by those who were willing to reinforce them, our "benefactors," our Muscovite "brothers."

It is difficult to say how long we would have served corvee if it were not for the Polish uprising. The Polish Government, having promulgated its decree, gave the peasants' land to the peasants in perpetuity and we immediately stopped performing corvee.

And when God Almighty converted the landlords back to the truth and made them fulfil the decrees of the Polish Government, then the Muscovites fell upon bad times, and despite themselves they had to enlist in our brotherhood with us and the Jews. Look at him, this smart brother. But even so he somehow fooled himself, because, as they say, "Your brother's house isn't his either," and our brother, too, would have joined the uprising if he had a poker to grab. As for the Jew, although the saying has it that "When it's an emergency, go to the Jew," he does not always

receive the penniless, especially those who have soaked up no small amount of Jewish tears and blood.

However, to see the Muscovite slyness more clearly, let us cast a sincere look at what the Muscovites have been doing to us at this moment, unpropitious to them, when having gone to war with the Poles to maintain their dominion, they want to enlist themselves in a brotherhood with us. The Polish Government because of our work is giving us our land in perpetuity, while the Muscovites are writing up and establishing some sort of land tax (**czynsz**) to which there will never be an end, as it is among the state peasants.

While the Polish Government is giving us true freedom, the Muscovites are chasing people into the Siberian deserts, not by entire villages but by entire communities, completely depriving them of their liberty. While the Polish Government is giving all brotherly peoples self-rule, the Muscovites not only are not doing the same, but in areas inhabited by Poles, Lithuanians, and Byelorussians, they are establishing Muscovite schools and in those schools they teach you in the Muscovite language, you'll never hear a word in Polish, Lithuanian, or Byelorussian in them as the people want; to these schools they only send Muscovites from the other end of the world, who only know how to steal and rob men and women, and to serve an evil cause for money to the detriment of the people. The savage Muscovites think that once they can strip the people of any belongings, they can also drive into their heads their stupid reason, stupid because Muscovites' intelligence, while it often intends well, never does anything in a human manner but only deceives the people and cringes before the tsarist whip like the very worst tramp.

It is difficult to relate everything which has been written in blood, so that tears flow when one reads about the lawlessness perpetrated by the Muscovites — which they are still doing until now. Let whoever wants to have a real taste of it live for a while under Muscovite rule, then he will see what kind of "benefits" the peasants had. This is why we say: the Polish cause is our cause, the cause of freedom.

However, much work will be needed to acquire this freedom, for which everyone is waiting — from children to old people — because if for so many years the Muscovites have kept their claws sunk into our breast, no wonder people have to suffer a long time to get rid of their "brotherly" care. This is why it will be beneficial if we now discuss the means available to us for that. We shall speak sparingly — everybody knows why — so that the Muscovites should not find out in case they intercept this letter.

For a long time the Poles had been waiting for assistance from abroad. Foreign nations shouted much, but until now have done nothing for us. They say there is no need whatsoever for

them to go to war in the Polish cause, for us, against the Muscovites. As long ago as two hundred years our forefathers had a better saying — “If you have God and his law in your heart, help your neighbor” — and they went off to defend Christianity against Tatar savagery. Although we are entitled to such help, we do not demand it. Let everybody do as seems best to him. However, it has to be said here that when all the kings underwrote our Muscovite captivity, they greatly neglected their honor, and disgrace not only should, but must be, washed off by everyone in order to have a clear conscience.

This is why, knowing how our cause is understood abroad, we continue to believe that Divine Providence, having lasted for centuries, will not permit truth and justice to perish, and if it will find no method for it in the present order of things, it will cut this knot and turn the might of the people the way it chooses. We only have to stand strong for our own cause with deep belief, and our government should be sensitive to everything, using anything for the good of the people. Our forces are still great, we can fight with them for God knows how long, but, on the one hand, they must be preserved for that, and on the other continuously replenished.

Thus, if an uprising is staged at the proper moment, it builds up and enlivens the people; if it is not done in good time, it wastes everybody's forces, weakens the spirit in its simplicity, as well as spawning doubts in our cause, and in God's might. The Polish Government and its officials know this and, in order for us to serve well before God and our national conscience, they create no artificial upheavals; having understood the national spirit, its needs and will, to raise and organize with intelligence national regiments and by developing tenacity through endless national revolts to resist Muscovite rule over us. It is not a speedy work, neither is it ostentatious, but it is certain and will lead us to a good end. It is a laborious work. In order to succeed it should be as sincere and simple as the heart that beats under peasant garb, as the peasant mind which does not vacillate when action is needed. Then the Polish Government's words, “the people's liberty, equality, and freedom,” will enter everybody's blood, and all of the might of Muscovy shall not overcome us, even if the Inferno itself were to start helping it.

We have enough willing hands even today, but we should not go with bare hands against Muscovite bayonets. The Polish Government and its officials should carefully think about this. Money we shall have, because we realize the need for it and because we have the means to obtain it. But we must have something to take into our hands for our money. The Polish Government will be able to solve that. And, if it runs up against obstacles, it will

in time overcome everything with God's help and by the right which is inscribed in our breasts.

However, do not wait, my People, but go to fight with whatever you can for your God, your right, your glory, and your fatherland. Everything is permissible for you: a knife, an axe, or poison. These are your methods because you, like that ensnared peasant without rights, are being denied the right of self-defense, because you are not allowed anything.

And when foreign nations stare at us in awe and say, “They are foolish,” you, my People, great and honest, should answer them truthfully that they are the cause of it and that this will be a heavy sin on their consciences.

Letter № 2

Oh, black-browed Mary, my dove,
Where have your happiness and your bright fate disappeared?
Everything is gone as if it had never existed.
Only a horrible bitterness remains in the breast.

If God started punishing us for our truth
And condemned us to perish by the Eternal Garden,
We will perish in vain rather than abandon our truth,
Rather give up Heaven and happiness than forego the truth.

Don't complain, Mary, about your misery,
But accept your heavy punishment—the will of the Almighty.
Should you remember me, pray sincerely
And I shall respond to you from the world beyond.

Farewell, my peasant people,
Live in happiness, live in freedom,
And recall from time to time your Jaśko
Who perished for the truth that you might prosper.

But when the word turns into action,
Stand up courageously for the truth,
For only with the truth in common counsel
Will you, my people, live the length of your days in freedom.

Letter № 3

My brothers, dear peasants!

I have to write to you from beneath the Muscovite gallows and perhaps for the last time. It is sad to leave my native land and you, my dear people. Although my breast will sigh and my heart will ache, I don't regret perishing for your truth.

Accept, my People, in sincerity my last words for it is as if they were written from the world beyond for your own welfare.

There is no greater happiness on this earth, brothers, than if a man has intellect and learning. Only then will he manage to live in counsel and in plenty and only when he has prayed properly to God, will he deserve Heaven, for once he has enriched his intellect with learning, he will develop his affection and sincerely love all his kinfolk.

But just as day and night do not reign together, so also true learning does not go together with Muscovite slavery. As long as this lies over us, we shall have nothing. There will be no truth, no riches, no learning whatsoever. They will only drive us like cattle not to our well-being, but to our perdition.

This is why, my People, as soon as you learn that your brothers from near Warsaw are fighting for truth and freedom, don't you stay behind either, but, grabbing whatever you can — a scythe or an axe — go as an entire community to fight for your human and national rights, for your faith, for your native country. For I say to you from beneath the gallows, my People, that only then will you live happily, when no Muscovite remains over you.

Your servant Jaško, yeoman from near Vilna.



З. Азгур. Кастусь Каліноўскі
Z. Azhur. Kastyś Kalinowski

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